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Art. I. *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia, Ancient Babylonia, &c. &c.* During the Years 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. By Sir Robert Ker Porter. With numerous Engravings. In Two Volumes. 4to. Vol. I. pp. xxiv, 720. London. 1821.

THIS volume terminates with the Author's journey through Persia Proper. A second, not yet published, is to comprehend Babylonia, Kourdistan, and the countries of the empire which occupied so important a space in the old histories of the East.

In the former series of this Review, the First Journey of Mr. Morier was noticed in terms of strong commendation. Persia was then ground almost untrodden by the living race of travellers; and its manners, its moral and social habitudes, the monuments scattered over its territory, attesting its ancient grandeur and early civilization, its gaudy and embellished literature, received ample illustration at the hands of a person whose accomplishments and official rank peculiarly fitted him for the task. That we have not yet devoted an article to the Second Journey of this Traveller, has been, chiefly, because the same route was traced, the same customs delineated, the same subjects investigated, while the freshness and grace of novelty were wanting to recommend it. We deem it, however, but just to remark, that it abounds with ingenious and learned expositions of scriptural and profane history, with topics of the highest interest to the antiquary, and the most useful information to the general reader.

Among the recent descriptions of Persia must also be classed the Geographical Memoir of Mr. Kinneir, and the second volume of Sir John Malcolm's History, which is occupied with a minute account of the country, people, religious opinions, and civil manners of Persia, and which, though unskillfully arranged, conveys new and striking notices, not to be found in the earlier accounts of Chardin, Le Brun, and Niebuhr. But while we

have no reason to lament the scantiness of information relative to Persia, we are by no means oppressed with its superabundance ; and we were pleased when a new work on the same subject was announced from so diligent a traveller and so accurate an artist as Sir Robert Ker Porter. We hoped (too fondly indeed) that time, and the critical rebukes which his former travels into Russia and Sweden had encountered, would have pruned the luxuriances, and healed the affectations of his diction, and that fully impressed with the gravity of his subject, he would have imparted in a condensed form, the results of his laborious investigations concerning the most interesting country in the world.

We are not attaching an undue importance to Persia, in using this phrase. Once, the mistress of the Eastern world,—the subverter of Babylon and Egypt,—the restorer of Jerusalem,—the invader successively and victim of Greece ;—one of the most familiar examples, also, in our youthful studies, of the instability of human affairs, the insecurity of thrones and kingdoms, the virtues by which empires are founded, and the causes which hasten their dissolution ;—a nation so consecrated by historic recollections, and so eminent in civil and military virtue, must ever be interesting to a liberal curiosity. Nor is it to the great transactions of Cyrus and his successors, only, that Persia owes her importance. At a later, but by no means less interesting era, she is ennobled by the proud distinction of opposing the ambition of Rome, and checking the strong and swelling tide of her domination. Even the palsy influence of Mohammedanism did not reduce her to insignificance : she still remained the bulwark of Christendom against the Turk. And even now, scarcely breathing as she is, after a century of misrule and calamity, with a dissipated strength, and a disunited empire, the Muscovite protectors of Georgia, and the British conquerors of India, are glad to sue, by costly and distant embassies, the favour of her kings at Tehraun and Caubul.

Yielding to a desire which he had long felt of travelling to Persia across a range of countries memorable in sacred and profane history, our Author left St. Petersburg in August 1817, for Odessa on the Black Sea, in order to embark for Constantinople, and to proceed to Persia. But at Odessa, the intelligence of the plague, which then raged in the Turkish capital, deterred him from prosecuting his projected route, and he determined on entering that country over the mountains of Caucasus. We are favoured with a short account of Odessa, and of Nicolaieff, which, with Kherson and Sebastopol, was founded by the celebrated Potemkin. At the dock-yard of Nicolaieff, Sir Robert thus moralizes on an insect said to be dreadfully injurious to the shipping of the Black Sea.

'A dock-yard has been established on the Eastern shore of the Ingul, for building ships of war. Indeed, an arsenal of this kind, and to be constantly at work too, is necessary to maintain a navy on these shores; for the Black Sea possesses a peculiarity more hostile to its fleets than the guns of the most formidable enemy,—nothing more than a worm! But the progress of that worm is as certain and as swift as the running grains of an hour-glass. It preys on the ship's bottom, and when once it has established itself, nothing that has yet been discovered can stop its ravages. Even coppered vessels are ultimately rendered useless, when any small opening admits the perforation of this subtle little creature.' Vol. I. p. 12.

We have extracted this passage,—the simple fact of the green timber employed in ship-building from the forests of the Ukraine, being liable to a destructive insect, thus ushered to the reader in the pomp and prodigality of sentimental description,—as a sample of that unfortunate passion for amplification with which Sir Robert has so frequently exercised our patience, as we have travelled through his volume.

We forgive him for indulging it as he approached the tomb of Howard on the road to Kherson; for we would not stint the effusions of a virtuous sensibility over the tomb of that unwearied friend of humanity; and much as we object to the taste, we fully commend the feeling and spirit of the passage.

'The evening was drawing to a close when I approached the hill, in the bosom of which the dust of my revered countryman reposes so far from his native land. No one that has not experienced "the heart of a stranger" in a distant country, can imagine the feelings which sadden a man while standing on such a spot. It is well known that Howard fell a sacrifice to his humanity; having caught a contagious fever from some wretched prisoners at Kherson, to whose extreme need he was administering his charity and his consolations. Admiral Priestman, a worthy Briton in the Russian service, who was his intimate friend, attended him in his last moments, and erected over his remains the monument, which is now a sort of shrine to all travellers, whether from Britain or foreign countries. It is an obelisk of whitish stone, sufficiently high to be conspicuous at several miles' distance. The hill on which it stands, may be about three wersts out of the direct road, and has a little village and piece of water at its base. The whole is six wersts from Kherson, and forms a picturesque as well as interesting object. The evening having closed when I arrived at the tomb, I could not distinguish its inscription; but the name of Howard would be sufficient eulogy. At Kherson I learned that the present emperor has adopted the plans which the great philanthropist formerly gave in to the then existing government, for ameliorating the state of the prisoners. Such is the only monument he would have desired, and it will commemorate his name for ever; while that of the founder of the pyramids is forgotten—so much more imperishable is the greatness of goodness, than the greatness of power!' Vol. I. pp. 15, 16.

Leaving the banks of the Ingouletz, our Author proceeded

Eastward over a dreary steppe, where he observed innumerable tumuli scattered over an expanse to the furthest stretch of sight. They are declared by Herodotus to have been regular places of interment for whole nations and tribes of ancient Scythia. Journeying onward, their route lay through the country of the Cossacks. It was a uniform cheerless waste, destitute alike of human and vegetable life, broken only by groupings of thistles six or seven feet high. The magnificent Don (the Tanais of the ancients) flows through the country for more than a thousand wersts, and discharges itself into the sea of Azoff at its eastern extremity. Its banks abound in timber, which being thrown into the river, floats safely down to St. Demetry, where it is exported to Odessa and other ports on the Black Sea. From Rostow, it was not quite a day's journey to reach New Tcherkask, the new capital of the Donskoy country, and honoured by the residence of the illustrious Count Platoff. Here Sir Robert learned, that the Attaman was at his summer residence two miles distant, where he was welcomed as an old acquaintance (our Author is the brother-in-law of the late Prince Scherbatoff) by the venerable chieftain, and received with the most hospitable greeting.

' Next morning Count Platoff called upon me to see how his hospitable orders had been fulfilled. The hurry of spirits which followed the meeting of the day before, having now subsided with us both, I observed him more calmly; and, while in discourse, I could not but remark to myself, with foreboding regret, the difference between his present appearance, and the vigour of his frame even so late as the year 1816, when he was my guest at St. Petersburg. The destroying effects of the campaign of 1812, were now too apparent in his countenance and figure; but his mind continued unimpaired, and each succeeding hour I passed in his society increased my veneration for its powers. He took me to dine with him at his house in Tcherkask, whither he was going to inspect the preparations he had ordered for welcoming his Imperial Highness.

' The hour of dinner, in this country, is generally two o'clock; but Count Platoff always dined at five, or sometimes a little later. The manner of serving the repast, differs in nothing from the style at Moscow, excepting that more wine is drunk. The wines most in use, came from the Greek islands; yet his excellency boasts his own red and white champagne of the Don, which, when old, are hardly inferior to the wines of that name in France. I drank at the Attaman's table another sort of red wine as excellent as any from Bourdeaux. It is made by a family of Germans, whom his excellency brought from the Rhine. And, from these specimens, I have little doubt that were the like culture of the grape, and similar treatment of the juice when pressed from the fruit, pursued throughout the country, the Donskoy vineyards would produce wines that might rival, not only those of Greece, but of France and Germany.' Vol. I. p. 27, 28.

The new city owes its existence to Count Platoff, who founded

it about ten years ago. All Europe rings with his military fame: in his own country, he is the father of his people. The reader will be pleased at the rapid progress of this capital, which will remind him of the infancy of Dido's city in Virgil.

‘Miratur molem Æneas, magalia quondam;
Miratur portas, strepitumque, et strata viarum.’

Among other judicious measures, Platoff has established a school. But the number of its scholars are at present only thirty-six, for this warlike people care little for the embellishments of life, or the refinements of learning. A Cossack finds his own arms, clothing, and horse. When on service, the Emperor allows each man one ration and double for his horse. In the campaign of 1812, all the population capable of bearing arms were called out, and fifty thousand are computed to have fallen. The quota which this branch of the Cossack nation furnishes to Russia, is about eighty regiments, numbering from five hundred to six hundred men. That of the Attaman, which is the *elite* of the country, is twelve hundred men.

On the 15th of September, a visit was announced from his Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michael. He was received with due ceremonials by Platoff, of which the chief is the customary present of bread and salt on a magnificent salver of gold. The bustle of this scene being over, Sir Robert made preparations for his departure. Nor was his venerable host unmindful of the arrangements that speed the parting guest, for he provided our Traveller with every thing that could administer to his comfort and safety till he could reach Tiflis, the termination of the Russian jurisdiction. From the brow of a very steep hill, the stupendous mountains of Caucasus first burst upon his view.

‘No pen can express the emotion,’ says he, ‘which the sudden burst of this sublime range excited in my mind. I had seen almost all the wildest and most gigantic chains in Portugal and Spain, but none gave me an idea of the vastness and grandeur of that I now contemplated. This seemed nature's bulwark between the nations of Europe and of Asia. Elborus, amongst whose rocks tradition reports Prometheus to have been chained, stood, clad in primeval snows, a world of mountains in itself, towering above all, its white and radiant summits mingling with the heavens; while the pale and countless heads of the subordinate range, high in themselves, but far beneath its altitude, stretched along the horizon, till lost to sight in the soft fleeces of the clouds. Several rough and huge masses of black rock rose from the intermediate plain: their size was mountainous, but being viewed near the mighty Caucasus, and compared with them, they appeared little more than hills; yet the contrast was fine, their dark brows giving greater effect to the dazzling summits which towered above them. Poets hardly feign when they talk of the genius of a place.

I know not who could behold Caucasus, and not feel the spirit of its sublime solitudes awing his soul.' pp. 44—5.

Sir Robert takes notice of the kindness with which foreigners, more especially Englishmen, are received, when they travel in the Russian empire. Having crossed the Podrouma, the plain extended itself before him. The road lay through a steep and difficult ravine. The spot bore no inviting name, being called, from the frequent occurrence of robbery and murder, the Valley of Thieves. He arrived at Mozdock, on the banks of the Terek, his first step into Asia, on the 30th of September, (O. S.) without disaster. At Gregoropolis, being furnished with an escort of twelve Cossacks, he set forth on his way to Wlady-Caucasus, which he reached after a journey of twenty-two wersts. Here, having joined a convoy of merchants, they set out under an escort of forty soldiers and a few Cossacks, having received strict injunctions from the commander of the fort, to keep close together, for the road was beset with banditti.

We do not pretend to give either an abridgement or an analysis of our Traveller's journey over the narrow and steep defiles of Caucasus, referring those of our readers who are enamoured of picturesque description, and have an appetite for hair-breadth escapes, to the work itself: the engraving of the Pass at Derial on the river Terek, will convey to their imaginations no tame or inadequate idea of its horrors.—Tiflis, the capital of Georgia, is distant from St. Petersburg 2627 wersts; its latitude is $41^{\circ} 45'$. It was founded by the Tzar Liewvang, who was attracted to the spot by the fame of its warm springs. The public baths are the daily resort of both sexes. The water is impregnated with sulphur, and its heat is from 15 to 16 degrees of Reaumur.

‘ Within these twenty years, the higher ranks of the inhabitants of Tiflis have gradually lost much of their Asiatic manners; and it was a change to be expected, from their constant intercourse with the civil and military officers of the European empire, to which they had become a people. Such changes are not always at their earliest stage properly understood by the persons who adopt them; hence, nations who have been long in a state of vassalage, when they first break from their chains, usually mistake licence for liberty; and, in like manner, the fair inmates of an Eastern harem, when first allowed to shew their faces to other men than their husbands, may, perhaps, be excused, if they think that the veil of modesty can no longer be of any use. Amongst the lower orders in Tiflis, the effect of European companionship has been yet more decided. Owing to the numbers of Russian soldiers, who, from time to time, have been quartered in their houses, the customary lines of separation in those houses could no longer be preserved; and their owners were obliged to submit to the necessity of their wives being seen by their stranger guests. The morals of a soldier, with regard to women, are seldom rigid; and

these gentlemen, not making an exception to the rule, made the best of the opportunities afforded them by the occasional absence of the husbands, to eradicate all remains of female reserve, and its sacred domestic consequences, from the characters of their ignorant but pretty wives. When the women walk abroad, they still so far retain the old custom of concealment, as to wear its costume; and we see them tripping along, enveloped from head to foot in the large Asiatic veil, called a *chadre*; and, when any of these females happen to be standing at the doors, without this safeguard, I must do them the justice to say, that I have seen more than one retreat hastily into the house, on observing herself to be attentively looked at by a man. The beauty of the Georgian women cannot be disputed; having fine dark large eyes, very regular features, and a pleasing mild expression of countenance; and from these characteristics being general, if there be any thing in physiognomy, we must conclude that they are naturally sweet-tempered and amiable. The dress of the higher ranks is splendid, and carefully adjusted; but the lower order of females, notwithstanding they share the same taste for the ceremonies of the bath, and regularly go through them all, wear clothes which seldom make acquaintance with soap or water; consequently they appear often in rags, and always in dirt.' pp. 122—3.

The town does not appear to have undergone much alteration since it was visited by Chardin. Upon all occasions, Sir Robert appears the '*elegans formarum spectator*.' We have a minute description of the dresses of the Georgian women.

'A bandeau round the forehead, richly set with brilliants and other costly stones, confines a couple of black tresses, which hang down on each side of a face beautiful by nature, as its features testify, but so cased in enamel, that not a trace of its original texture can be seen; and, what is worse, the surface is rendered so stiff by its painted exterior, that not a line shews a particle of animation, excepting the eyes; which are large, dark, liquid, and full of a mild lustre, rendered in the highest degree lovely, by the shade of long black lashes, and the regularity of the arched eye-brow. A silken shawl-like veil depends from the bandeau, flowing, off the shoulders, down the back; while a thin gauze handkerchief is fastened beneath the chin, binding the lower part of the face, and descending as low as the bosom, where it ties over the rest of the garments; shewing, through its light medium, the golden necklaces and other jewellery which decorate the vest. This latter piece of raiment is usually made of velvet, or silk richly embroidered, covering the bosom and entire waist. A close gown of brocade, with sleeves to the wrist, and an exceedingly long skirt, devolving on the ground all round, is put over the vest; but left open in front, as far as the bottom of the waist. The whole is then confined with a fine Kashmere shawl. The sleeves of the gown are open in front of the arm, but closed at pleasure by little pine-apple-shaped gold buttons and loops. Over all this, in cold weather (which was the season in which I saw these ladies) is added the oimah, or short pelisse, of gold brocade lined with fur; it flows loose to the figure, with wide sleeves; is open in front, reaching only

a little below the knees : and has a superb, as well as comfortable appearance. However, when the fair Georgians sit or stand together, in this gorgeous apparel, the inflexible stiffness of their position, and total absence of motion in features or complexion, give them the effect, rather of large waxen images, which open and shut their eyes by mechanical ingenuity, than that of living, breathing, lovely women.' pp. 135—6.

The avalanches of the Caucasus are as dreadful and calamitous as those of the Alps. The inhabitants calculate on a visitation of this kind once in seven or nine years. They are not peculiar to the winter season, but happen whenever, by the power of the sun or the weight of the snow, the masses are disengaged from their hold on the mountain. Of an awful calamity of this kind, which took place in November 1817, our Author gives a description.

' The pale summit of the mountain Kasibek, on the side which shelves down into a dark valley between Derial and the village which bears the mountain's name, had been seen abruptly to move. In an instant it was launched forward ; and nothing was now beheld for the shaken snow and dreadful over-shadowing of the falling destruction. The poise that accompanied it, was the most stunning, bursting, and rolling onward, of all that must make death certain. As the avalanche rushed on, huge masses of rock, rifted from the mountain's side, were driving before it ; and the snows and ice of centuries, pouring down in immense shattered forms and rending heaps, fell, like the fall of an earthquake ; covering from human eye, villages, valleys, and people ! What an awful moment, when all was still !—when the dreadful cries of man and beast were heard no more ; and the tremendous avalanche lay a vast, motionless, white shroud on all around.

' The magnitude of the destruction will readily be comprehended, when it is understood that the depth of the snow, which thus rolled downwards in sight of the appalled inhabitants of the valley, was full twenty-eight fathoms, that is, 186 feet ; and its extent more than six wersta, or four miles, English. It immediately blocked up the course of the Terek, whose obstructed waters, beating up in immense billows, foaming and raging against this strange impediment, seemed, at times, ready to over-top it ; but, still repelled by the firmness and height of the snow, it fell back on its bed with a roaring that proclaimed the dreadful scene to a vast distance. The overcharged waters then formed themselves into a lake, which spread down the whole valley, on the river-side of its tremendous barrier ; thus completely barring all communication with Wlady Caucasus. Nearly twelve days elapsed, before the river had sapped its way through so immense a body of consolidated snow ; but when it did make an opening, its flood, and fury, and devastating consequences, fell not far short of the dreadful ruin occasioned by the cause of its obstruction. Bridges, forts, every thing contiguous to its path, were washed away in the torrent.' pp. 146—147.

It is to the possession of Georgia by Russia, that travellers are indebted for the comparative security in which they may traverse the whole country from the banks of the Don to the furthest shores of the Kur. Our Traveller departs from Tiflis, not without dedicating a page of his ponderous quarto to a verbose panegyric on General Yarmolloff, the governor-general of the province, for the liberality and mildness of his administration. He visits the ruins of Anni, one of the ancient capitals of Armenia, and now a few miles within the Turkish frontier. But we cannot compliment him upon the distinctness of his delineations; for the fear of banditti made him impatient to leave a spot, to which he had taken so much pains to journey. In the western extremity of the town, however, which was very large, and in which no living beings except themselves seemed breathing, they saw the palace of the ancient kings of Armenia, which is of immense extent, and superbly decorated with highly wrought sculpture and mosaic pavements. Anni and other flourishing cities were literally swept away nearly five hundred years ago by an overwhelming horde of Tartars. The greater part of the inhabitants were murdered; and of the remainder, some fled into Turkey, others across the Caucasus, where they established on the Don the present city of Natchevan.

Mount Ararat, as might be expected, calls forth from our Author much verbal description. Its height has been never accurately ascertained, Sir Robert gravely tells us, having already informed us, that no human foot ever reached its summit. But Captain Monteith communicated to him several trigonometrical observations made at Erivan, of which the results are, 52,000 yards from that place to the highest point of the loftiest head, and to the minor head, 55,000. These heads are called Little and Great Ararat, and are 12,000 yards asunder. Sir Robert conjectures, that the Ark rested in the space between these heads, and not on the top of either;—an ingenious conjecture, but, like many other theories of the same kind, wholly unsupported by data. There is a considerable expenditure of words to shew the impossibility of ascending their summits. The single word inaccessible might have conveyed the idea to any reader who was aware that they are covered with snow and ice. He combats, however, very properly, the notion idly entertained by many travellers, of its having once been a volcano: registers have been kept for eight hundred years at the monastery of Eitch-mai-adzin (generally spelt Etmiatzin), of the general appearances of the mountain, in which no notice of any eruption is to be found.

The weather was mild and pleasant notwithstanding the season of the year. Winter hardly sets in till January, and the mercury not uncommonly stands at 16 to 18 degrees of Reaumur.

From this hospitable convent, our Traveller directed his course due East towards the province of Erivan, one of the most fertile districts of the Persian empire. The kind patriarch had lodged on the backs of his cattle an ample store of wine; and 'in consequence,' says Sir Robert, '*so long as it lasted, I could not taste its refreshment without some grateful remembrance of the fair and bounteous plains of Ararat.*' An ingenuous confession, comprehending, we fear, much of that philosophy which is practised in the ordinary commerce of life, where the reminiscences of kindness and friendship are too apt to fade with the good cheer that gave birth to them! He arrived at Erivan, the capital, on the 21st of November, and he again exercises his ingenuity on the origin of its name, assigning it to Ervandus, an Armenian king sixty-five years before the Christian era;—a hazardous conjecture, for it would puzzle a much more learned inquirer than Sir Robert, to establish any fact in the Persian history upon clear and incontrovertible grounds, prior to Ardisbeer or Artaxerxes, the restorer of the Persian dynasty about the third century of the Christian era. The Greek and Roman historians are silent upon the point, and the native Persian history anterior to that period, is a confused mass of fable, wholly destitute of chronological light.

At Ardashir, one of the largest cities of ancient Armenia, the extent of the ruins attest its former greatness. At present, it seems the grave, not of the people only, but of houses, temples, palaces, lying in death-like entombment. Tabreez (Tauris) is in lat. $38^{\circ} 4'$ and in long. $46^{\circ} 25'$. It is the residence of Abbas Mirza, the heir apparent, and the capital of Aderbijan,* (by Sir Robert Porter spelt Azerbaijan,) of which province his Royal Highness is governor. The city has been twice destroyed during the last century by earthquakes.

* Tabreez has been re-fortified lately, by order of the Prince, and, accordingly, is surrounded with a thick wall, protected by towers and bastions, with the addition of a very deep dry ditch. The whole embraces a circumference of six thousand yards. Beyond this boundary, to the north and east, extend the suburbs, which rise amidst the ruins and broken ground of what formerly composed part of the old city. Four gates, of no very imposing appearance, conduct into the new city. They are surmounted by turrets, and ornamented with slight minarets, covered with chequer-work of blue and green tiles, which have been collected from the remains of the ancient vaulted mosques. These walls and towers are built of bricks dried in the sun, with an occasional mixture of some that have been burnt; but, for these latter, the modern architect is obliged to the great earthquake, and the fine

* This is the orthography of Kinneir, Malcolm, Morier, and Scott Waring.

masonry it overwhelmed. Out of two hundred and fifty mosques, mentioned by Chardin, the ruins of only three are visible. The most considerable is that of Ali Shah, erected nearly six hundred years ago, by Ali Koja; and which still presents lofty arches, and the mouldering vaulted work of splendid domes. The whole of the building, within and without, has been cased with lackered tiles of porcelain, adjusted into intricate and elaborate figures, with an ingenuity and taste that would honour the most accomplished artists of any age. The colours of these decorations are green, dark and light blue, interspersed with Arabic sentences in letters of gold; and a broad band of such legends, formed in white upon this beautifully varied ground, and interwoven with flowers in green and gold, winds round the entire extent of the building. This fine ruin is within the new fortifications of the city, as are, also, the remains of the ark or citadel. In former times, it is said to have contained the royal palace, with its attendant mosque. Very legible traces of these different structures are yet to be found within its lofty, though riven walls. The height of those walls may be about eighty feet, commanding an extensive view on every side over the lately erected works, and making a conspicuous object to a great distance from the town. The materials of the whole structure are of brick, and put together with the nicest care.'

pp. 221—223.

Chardin says, that in his time (1686) Tabreez contained half a million of people. But how terrible must have been the desolations of war and pestilence, which, in the course of little more than forty years from that time to the first earthquake, reduced the inhabitants of this capital to little more than one fifth of that number! Sir Robert does not neglect the gentler sex; and the process of the bath, though frequently described, is still an amusing topic.

'Having,' says he, 'gone over most of the royal residence, I was curious to see how the gentler sex are accommodated, in a country where their home is their prison. At least, so we consider their sequestration. But such is the kindly influence of habit, though many of these women must be full of conscious beauty, and never have heard the voice of admiration but from one man, yet the mere idea of giving them more liberty, would fill them with misery. In short, they would regard the freedom of the most delicate woman in Europe, as a contempt from their husbands, and an exposure altogether too degrading to be thought on. To satisfy my curiosity I was conducted to the quadrangle of the Prince's palace, which is called the underroom, or private apartment, where the ladies and female slaves are lodged. Of course it was then vacant. I found this place, as it ought to be, all *couleur de rose*.

'In one corner of the court was a small door, leading to the bath. Having entered by it, we went along an extremely narrow passage; and after making an angle or two, were brought into a spacious saloon of an octagon shape. A door on the left of the saloon, conducted us through another narrow way, to the great bath; close to the entrance

of which, is a small dressing-chamber for the use of His Royal Highness, when he chooses to bathe. The apartment denominated the great bath, is one immense marbled hall, the walls and floor being entirely covered with that cool and shining surface; and from this chamber diverge several recesses, still all marble; while at one end is the cistern, or bath, with about four feet depth of water. The boiler is beneath, whence a pipe conveys the heated water into the receiver above, to the temperature required. Tubes also conduct the steam, or warmed air, into the saloon and its recesses; that a colder atmosphere may not check the perspiration of the person issuing from the bath. The apartment I have already mentioned, is appropriated to the females, to complete the ceremonies of the bath; and its decorations may be considered in harmony with the beauty perfected beneath its roof. Mirrors cover the walls in almost every part, and where we do not see them, the intermediate spaces are luxuriantly painted with flowers, intermixed with gold. The finest nummuds carpet the benches, for the fair bathers to repose on; and gathered roses strew the floor in every direction, contrasting their natural beauties with their gilded imitations on the walls.

Understanding that the process of the bath is much the same, when applied by either sex, and as it is rather curious, I shall describe it in a general way. The bather having undressed in the outer room, and retaining nothing about him but a piece of loose cloth round his waist, is conducted by the proper attendant into the hall of the bath; a large white sheet is then spread on the floor, on which the bather extends himself. The attendant brings from the cistern, which is warmed from the boiler below, a succession of pails full of water, which he continues to pour over the bather till he is well drenched and heated. The attendant then takes his employer's head upon his knees, and rubs in with all his might, a sort of wet paste of henna plant, into the mustachios and beard. In a few minutes this pomade dyes them a bright red. Again he has recourse to the little pail, and showers upon his quiescent patient another torrent of warm water. Then, putting on a glove made of soft hair, yet possessing some of the scrubbing-brush qualities, he first takes the limbs, and then the body, rubbing them hard for three quarters of an hour. A third splashing from the pail, prepares the operation of the pumice-stone. This he applies to the soles of the feet. The next process seizes the hair of the face, whence the henna is cleansed away, and replaced by another paste, called *rang*, composed of the leaves of the indigo plant. To this succeeds the shampooing, which is done by pinching, pulling, and rubbing, with so much force and pressure as to produce a violent glow over the whole frame. Some of the natives delight in having every joint in their bodies strained till they crack; and this part of the operation is brought to such perfection, that the very vertebrae of the back are made to ring a peal in rapid succession. This climax of skill, however, has a very strange effect to the spectator; for, in consequence of both bather and attendant being alike unclothed, the violent exertions of the one, and the natural resistance of the joints in the other, give the twain the appearance of a wrestling match. This over, the shampooed body, reduced again to its prostrate state, is

rubbed all over with a preparation of soap confined in a bag, till he is one mass of lather. The soap is then washed off with warm water, when a complete ablution succeeds, by his being led to the cistern, and plunged in. He passes five or six minutes, enjoying the perfectly pure element; and then emerging, has a large, dry, warm sheet thrown over him, in which he makes his escape back to the dressing room. During the process of the bath, many of the Persians dye, not only their hair black, but their nails, feet, and hands a bright red. They often smoke half a dozen kaliouns; and, in short, take the whole business more easily, than an European would his sitting down under the hands of a barber, to shave his beard.

'The Persian ladies regard the bath as the place of their greatest amusement. They make appointments to meet there; and often pass seven or eight hours together in the carpeted saloon, telling stories, relating anecdotes, eating sweetmeats, sharing their kaliouns, and completing their beautiful forms into all the fancied perfections of the East; dyeing their hair and eye-brows, and curiously staining their fair bodies with a variety of fantastic devices, not unfrequently with the figures of trees, birds, and beasts, sun, moon, and stars.'

pp. 229—233.

Our Author was invited to dinner by Merza Bezoork, prime minister of the prince, who, as a matter of course, in return for this civility, receives a page of eulogy for his 'maturity in the knowledge of government, the power, happiness, and grandeur resulting from his administration, expansion of view, cultivation of his mind,' &c. &c.—*Le veritable Amphytrion ou l'on dine*. As these are subjects on which Sir Robert habitually summons all the graces of description, we will give in his own words his account of the feast.

'We were shewn into an extensive saloon carpeted all over, and with the usual accompaniments of nummuds, which are long and narrow pieces of a thicker and softer substance, made of wool or felt. On some of these sat several of the officers of state, who rose on our approach; and after the usual compliments, we took our station on the nummuds appointed for our accommodation, in the true Eastern style of sitting on the heels, or cross-legged, whichever way our stubborn limbs could easiest conform to the attitudes of the more plastic Asiatics. A couple of huge, heavy, and ill-proportioned candalabra, stood opposite to each other in the middle of the floor, their lights being fed with oil, or any other convenient unctuous matter. In a small chimney at one end of the room, blazed a lively wood fire; and to increase the heat, a brazen dish full of glowing charcoal was placed at the answering extremity.

'A few minutes elapsed before our host made his appearance. On his entrance we all rose; and on being re-seated, he bowed to each person according to his rank, uttering at the same time a compliment befitting the esteemed importance of the guest. The routine of the entertainment was then as follows: kaliouns were presented; then coffee, served in very small cups, and without cream or sugar. Kaliouns

succeeded; then tea, in larger cups; and this over, conversation filled an interval of ten minutes, when the minister gave a signal for dinner to be brought. Several servants immediately entered, bearing a long narrow roll of flowered cotton in their arms, which they laid down, and spread before the whole company, who now occupied both sides of the room. This napery was placed close to our knees. The next service was to set a piece of the thin sort of bread or cake I formerly described, before each guest, to be used as a plate and napkin. Then came a tray, between every two persons, containing the following articles of food: two bowls of sherbet, each provided with a wooden spoon of delicate and elegant workmanship; a couple of dishes of pillau, composed of rice soaked in oil or butter, boiled fowls, raisins, and a little saffron; two plates with melons sliced; two others, containing a dozen kabbobs, or morsels of dry, broiled meat; and a dish, presenting a fowl roasted to a cinder. The whole party along the extended web, being in like manner supplied, the host gave the sign for falling to; a command that seemed to be understood literally, for every back became bent, every face was brought close to the point of attack, and every jaw, in an instant, was in motion. This is done by a marvellous dexterity in gathering up the rice, or victuals of any kind, with the right hand, and almost at the same moment, thrusting it into the mouth. The left hand is never used by the Persians but in the humblest offices; however, during meals at least, the honoured member certainly does the business of two, for no cessation could be observed in the active passage of meat, melon, sherbet, &c. from the board to the mouths of the grave and distinguished assembly. I must say, I never saw a more silent repast in my life, nor one where the sounds of mastication were so audible. In some countries it may be "merry in the hall, when beards wag all:" but here, I could only think of a similar range of respectable quadrupeds, with their heads not farther from their troughs, than ours were from the trays. For my part, whenever I wished to avail myself of the heaps of good provender on mine, at every attempt to throw a little rice into my mouth, it disappeared up my sleeve; so that after several unsuccessful essays, I gave up the enjoyment of this most savoury dish of the feast, and contented myself with a dry kabbob or two.

When the servants cleared away, it was in the order the things had been put down. A silver-plated jug with a long spout, accompanied by a basin of the same metal, was carried round to every guest, by an attendant who poured water from the jug on our right hands, which we held in succession over the basin, while each individual cleansed his beard or mustachios from the remnants of dinner. We had no towel to dry one or the other, save our own pocket-handkerchiefs; the bread-napkin, or plate, having no capability but to be eaten off, and wipe the ends of the fingers between every new plunge into the opposite dish. A kalioun, with tea, followed, and continued, with a few interruptions, during the conversation which had broken the dead silence on the departure of the rolled-up web and its appendages. A fresh kalioun finished the entertainment, and we then rose to take our leave. With extreme difficulty I obeyed the general movement; but when I did get upon my legs, they were too cramped

to stand, and had it not been for the support of one of my countrymen, more accustomed to such curveture of limbs, I must have fallen. A few minutes, however, restored me to locomotive motion; and having made my bow, we passed through the curtained entrance, to resume the slippers we had left at the door.' pp. 236—239.

Sir Robert leaves nothing unpraised. Abbas Mirza is doing, he tells us, all in his power to restore the place to its former military importance. He does not aim so much to adorn as to strengthen it. The present fortifications (of which we have already given our Traveller's description) were begun and finished by him. Very different is Colonel Johnson's* account of this fortification, who, at the desire of the prince, visited it the very same year, and, as it may be supposed, looked at it with a soldier's eye. The following is an extract from the journal of that officer.

' June 24. In the evening we rode out with Captain Lindsay of the Artillery and Captain Monteath of the Engineers, round the walls of the town, which the Prince is strengthening as much as possible; but it is lamentable to observe, that, instead of attending to the advice of Captain Monteath, he is going on in his own way, and seems to rest the defence of the town on the prayers of his head priest and the efforts of the Mussulmans, which, however, would be of no avail against Russian artillery. The town is surrounded by two walls, the first or inner one being of mud, flanked by towers of brick, twenty feet high, having a parapet *weakened* by holes cut through it for throwing stones with loop-holes, &c. This and the rampart, as well as the towers, are all hollow, and already shaken and cracked from top to bottom, so that a few shot must bring the whole down. The second or outer wall, a kind of *fausse-braye*, is a high parapet on the *escarpe*, which beginning from the bottom of the dry ditch, is built throughout only of mud, and is crumbling down by its own weight, before the whole is finished. This also has no flanks, and can be used only for musketry and stones. The ditch is a deep trench of twenty feet and thirty wide, and the earth thrown on the counterscarpe to cover the walls, is so constructed as to give cover to the enemy from the fire of the walls at the foot of its slope. In addition to these defects, the houses, inclosures, aqueducts, and ruins remain untouched close up to the ditch: and many of the public buildings of the garrison are erected close and parallel to those of the town. On one side is a structure which they call a citadel, being nothing more than a portion of the town walls projecting beyond the rest, and separated from the town by a single wall of similar construction. The different faces of this work are seen from the heights outside in reverse; and it is at all events as easy to be taken by an enemy as any other part of the fortification. The ditches are crossed by bridges of wood covered with earth. This is sufficient to shew that the Persians are ignorant of the art of defence.'

* "Journey through Persia, Georgia, &c. by Lieut. Col. Johnson, C.B." 4to. London, 1818. p. 211.

Abbas Mirza invited our Author to accompany him to Tehraun, whither the King had ordered him to repair, to assist at the celebration of the feast of the Nowroose; a proposal which he readily accepted. His board was, by order of the prince, to be supplied from his own; a distinction held in high honour by the Persians. Sir Robert is by no means remiss on his part, for Abbas Mirza receives the full amount of all this kindness in panegyric. In all the varieties of his conversation, our Traveller found 'new occasions to admire the capacities of his mind, and the noble purposes to which he unfolded them.' The interpreter enabled him to comprehend the animated discourse of his master. 'He discussed all the existing empires, their naval and military power, commerce and comparative wealth.' In short, Abbas Mirza was deeply versed in every branch of knowledge; and during the frequent conversations our Author had with him, he could not but think that he saw before him 'the man whose powerful and liberal mind is to create a new epoch in the national consequence of his future kingdom.'

We cannot proceed with Sir Robert in the splendid cavalcade which moved on this occasion to Tehraun. At Mianna, he encountered a plague, hitherto found impossible to be eradicated, in the form of a small but poisonous bug. He conjectures, and we think plausibly, that this is the same city which Sir John Maundeville, five hundred years ago, mentions as 'lying in the way from Thauriso (Tabreez) to the East, where no Cristene man may long dwelle, ne enduren with lyfe in that cytee, but dyen within short tyme, and no man knowethe the cause.' It breeds in myriads in all the old houses, and is seen in every part of the walls, of the size and shape of common bugs, but of a more reddish colour. Its bite is mortal, producing death in eight or nine months.

'Strangers,' says our Traveller, 'of every sort, not merely foreigners, but persons not usually inhabiting the town or its vicinity, are liable to be thus poisoned; while the people themselves or the adjacent peasantry are either never bitten, or, if so, the consequences are not more baneful than the sting of the least noxious insect.'

Vol. I. p. 264.

This is, at best, but a superficial account of this extraordinary insect, and betrays more credulity than we should have expected from an intelligent Englishman. It is certain, however, that the old buildings of this town are infested with a small insect which the Persians call *mulla*, and that its bite is said to produce disease, and ultimately death. Dr. Campbell, Physician to the British Residence at Tehraun, describes the disease as beginning with nausea, bilious vomiting, and loathing of food, succeeded by obstructions of the liver and other viscera, and terminating in death within six weeks or two months. These

insects are destroyed by boiling lime-water. It is merely a popular persuasion among the inhabitants, that it is fatal to their neighbours and not to themselves. In form and colour, the insect resembles the large dog-tick of India. It is not red, but of a greyish water colour, and is hairy between the legs. Nor does it ever make its appearance but in the hot season. In all probability, therefore, Sir Robert did not see it.

A chain of magnificent mountains divide the province of Aderbijan from IRAK, once so considerable a part of the kingdom of Media. Descending these heights on the S.E., they arrived at a rapid river, said to be the Amardus of Ptolemy and the Gozen of Scripture, which discharges itself into the Caspian, east of Resht.

Having crossed the bridge, we set our foot on the land of Irak Ajem, a country so famed in Asiatic romance, classic history, and Holy Writ. Our road then lay north-east, directly over the mountains which bound that side of the valley. The ascending track was winding, with abrupt curves, up very steep acclivities for full three miles, at the end of which we reached another commodious caravansary, built of brick. Near it, are the ruins of an older structure of the kind, which has been faced with hewn stone. The vicinity of this secluded spot has a painful interest attached to it, as having been the scene of a dreadful and mysterious murder, committed on the person of the celebrated traveller, Mr. Browne: this sad catastrophe happened about five or six years ago.

This gentleman was a man of indefatigable research, with a persevering industry in acquiring the means of pursuing his object, equal to the enterprising spirit with which he breasted every difficulty in his way. Previous to his going to Persia, he had stopped some time in Constantinople, to perfect himself in the Turkish language; and before he left that city, he spoke it like a native. From a mistaken idea of facilitating his progress amongst the different Asiatic nations through which he might have occasion to pass in the route he had laid down for himself, he assumed the Turkish dress. Being thus equipped, he set forward, with an intent to penetrate through Khorasan; and thence visit the unexplored and dangerous regions south of the Caspian, closing his researches in that direction at Astrakhan. During the early part of his Persian journey, he had a conference with His Britannic Majesty's ambassador, Sir Gore Ouseley; and at Oujon, was admitted to an audience of the Persian King. So little was danger from attacks of any kind apprehended by the persons best acquainted with the state of the country, that no difficulties whatever were suggested as likely to meet him; and, accordingly, he proceeded in full confidence. Having reached this pass of Irak, he stopped at the caravansary I have just described, to take a little refreshment. That over, he remounted his horse; and leaving his servant to pack up the articles he had been using, and then follow him, he rode gently forward along the mountains. Mr. Browne had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when suddenly two men on foot came up behind him; one of

whom, with a blow from a club, before he was aware, struck him senseless from his horse. Several other villains at the same instant sprang from hollows in the hills, and bound him hand and foot. At this moment they offered him no further personal violence; but as soon as he had recovered from the stupor occasioned by the first mode of attack, he looked round, and saw the robbers plundering both his baggage and his servant; the man having come forward on the road, in obedience to the commands of his master. When the depredators found their victim restored to observation, they told him it was their intention to put an end to his life, but that was not the place where the final stroke should be made. Mr. Browne, incapable of resistance, calmly listened to his own sentence, but entreated them to spare his poor servant, and allow him to depart with his papers, which could be of no use to them. All this they granted; and, what may appear still more extraordinary, these ferocious brigands, to whom the acquisition of arms must be as the staff of life, made the man a present of his master's pistols and double-barrelled gun; but they were English, and the marks might have betrayed the new possessors. These singular robbers then permitted Mr. Browne to see his servant safe out of sight before they laid further hands on himself; after which they carried him and the property they had reserved for themselves, into a valley on the opposite side of the Kizzilouzan, and without further parley terminated his existence, it is supposed, by strangulation. They stripped his corpse of every part of its raiment, and then left it on the open ground a prey to wolves and other wild animals.' Vol. I. pp. 268—270.

There is no doubt that the assassins were part of some roving Kurds. Mr. Browne had unfortunately refused the assistance of a Mehmandaur, though the Prince had offered him one for his escort. 'A single traveller,' remarks Colonel Johnson, 'should, however objectionable may be the expense, take with him in all cases a Mehmandaur. He acts as purveyor and guide; he is an adviser in every emergency; an accredited witness in case of wrong or imposition; his presence serves to protect a stranger from fraud or violence, and his experience affords the readiest clue for discovery and redress.*'

The ancient city of Sultania is in lat. 36° 32'. Here are the remains of an unfinished mausoleum, begun by Sultan Mahomed Khodabund for the bodies of the Caliph Ali (of whose sect he was) and his martyr Hoossein, it being his intention to translate them thither with all religious pomp from Meshed Ali; but death intercepted his pious purpose, and his own ashes are intombed within it. Mr. Morier's accurate delineation of this superb fragment, renders it superfluous to cite our Author's account of it. The ruins of other magnificent structures are still conspicuous in many parts of this decayed city, and are on so extensive a scale, that we are astonished at the former magni-

* "Journey through Georgia and Persia." p. 190.

tude of a place which, at present, scarcely numbers three hundred families. In 1637, the city, even then declining, contained six thousand people.

A lofty range of mountains South of the Caspian, but to the North of this province, bears the name of Elborz or the Kohé Caucasân. It was from their wild and rugged recesses, that the sect so famous in the history of the Crusades, spread themselves to the remote hills of Syria. Our readers will recollect their story in the Roman history of Gibbon, and we, therefore, pass over with less reluctance Sir Robert's recapitulation of it.

Tehraun, (unnecessarily spelt Teheran by our Author,) the present metropolis of Persia, is in latitude $35^{\circ} 37'$ N. and longitude $50^{\circ} 52'$ E. It stands on a low tract of ground at the foot of the Elborz mountains. But its situation is by no means salubrious. The spring torrents descending from the adjacent heights, saturate the low ground about the town, and emit the most noxious exhalations. Early in June, the heat becomes intolerable, and the city is nearly abandoned. It is surrounded with a deep ditch, towers, and a mud wall, embracing a circle of about four miles. The streets are like those of every town in Persia, narrow and dirty.

When a khan or any great man goes out to take the air, or for any other object, he seldom condescends to be seen on foot; but, mounted on horseback, sets forth with a train of thirty or forty ill-appointed followers on foot, and a servant preceding him, bearing a fine embroidered horse-cloth. One of the fellows in the rear generally carries his master's kalioun; but of what use the others are, except to fill the scanty way, and raise a dust to suffocation, I have never been able to learn. Successions of such groups, loaded camels, mules, asses, and not unfrequently one or two of the royal elephants, are continually passing to and fro; sometimes jamming up the streets, to the evident hazard of life and limbs, both of man and beast. Ancient and modern cities of the East, all shew the same narrow line in the plan of their streets. To compress many inhabitants in a similar small space, was deemed expedient in Europe also, when the state of the times rendered fortified places the only secure places; and this occasional necessity may account, in some measure, for the wretched alleys I have just described. But the natives give another reason; that were they wider, it would be impossible to pass along them under the unshaded fire of the summer's sun. This may appear feasible; but the evil is only half averted; confined heat, crowd, and odious smells, producing effects, to European feelings at least, more intolerable than the most vertical beams in a free atmosphere. Where any place does present a little more room than ordinary, or under the covered ways attached to the shops, we generally find one of the national story-tellers, surrounded by groups of people; some well-clad, others in rags, and not

a few nearly naked, attending with the most lively interest to tales they must have heard a thousand times before. He recounts them with a change of gesticulation, and a varied tone of voice, according to his subject; whether it be the loves of Khosroo and Shireene, the exploits of Rustum their favourite hero, or any number of historic couplets from Ferdoussi, the Homer of their land. From the humblest peasant, to the head that wears the diadem, all have the same passion for this kind of entertainment. His present Majesty, and also the several Prince-governors, have each a court story-teller; in listening to whose powers of memory, or of eloquence, the royal personage frequently passes the leisure of the day; and when on a long journey, this necessary officer is always within call, to beguile the tedium of the way. Such a living chronicle of noble exemplars is certainly a more creditable adjunct to a great man's train, than the saucy motleys of our old courts; whose wit might as often be a vehicle of mischief, as of innocent pastime, to the invited guests. These story-tellers of Persia have a mixed character, something between the bards of antiquity, and the troubadours of more modern days.' Vol. I. pp. 310-2.

A muddy drawing in India ink does not much aid Sir Robert's description of this capital.—Mirza Sheffy, prime minister to the late and the present King, is about seventy-five years of age, short in stature, of a spare figure, a thin, pallid visage, small sparkling eyes, beard long, pointed, and dyed a deep red. He is a man of considerable talent and tact, but inordinately avaricious. He understands, however, the business of his office, and being considered the second man in the kingdom, is treated by all ranks with the utmost deference.

A little anecdote,' says our Author, 'that was told to me the other day, of this minister, will shew the master-passion and the humour with which he sometimes turns it into sport. His station near the sovereign gives him a kind of reflecting consequence, that makes a nod or a smile from him, so full of a similar quality, that it may shed honour *ad infinitum* downwards; graduating dignity, according to its distance from the original fountain of favour. First one happy courtier, and then another, had received these marks of peculiar grace; and, in consequence, became the little centre of a temporary adulation from hundreds; many of whom envied the favour they sought to conciliate, even at second, or third hand. Amongst the latter order of suitors, was a rich, but otherwise inconsiderable individual, who had long attended Mirza Sheffy's levees, without having received the slightest notice; but chancing one day to find the minister alone for a few moments, he seized the opportunity, and thus addressed him:

"I have had the honour of placing myself, for these many months back, in your Excellency's sight, in the midst of your crowded halls, and yet have never had the happiness of receiving a single glance. But if your Excellency would condescend, in the next assembly of your visitors, to rise a little on my entrance, such a distinction would be the height of my ambition; I should thenceforth be held of

consequence in the eyes of the khans. And for this honour, I would give your Excellency a consideration of one hundred tomauns."

It was an argument his Excellency liked so well, he closed with the proposal, and the time for the solemn investing-dignity was arranged for the next day. The happy man took care not to make his appearance till the divan of the minister was pretty well filled. He then presented himself on the most conspicuous part of the carpet, big with ideas of the ever-growing honours, of which that moment was to make him master. He looked proudly round on the rest of the khans, while Mirza Sheffy, half-raising himself from his seat, by his knuckles, and fixing his eyes gravely on him, to the no small astonishment of the rest of the company, exclaimed, "Is that enough?" The man was so overcome with confusion, he hurried from the room; leaving his distinction and his money alike with the minister; but taking with him the useful lesson, that bought honours are generally paid with disgrace. The laugh for once went, without doubt of sincerity, with the great man; and his smiles became of still higher value, since it had been proved that he set them above price.

Vol. I. pp. 314, 315.

Very tedious is the historical account which follows, of the festival of Nowroose, and Sir Robert bewilders himself to little purpose among the early records and traditions of Persia. He is more at home when he describes the celebration of it as it was actually presented to his senses; and his authority is, on these occasions, much less questionable, than when he overwhelms himself in matters of dark and doubtful erudition. He is enraptured with the pomp and magnificence of the royal procession at this feast.

Here was no noise, no bustle of any kind; every person standing quietly in his place, respectfully awaiting the arrival of the monarch. At last, the sudden discharge of the swivels from the camel-corps without, with the clangor of trumpets, and I know not what congregation of uproarious sounds besides, announced that His Majesty had entered the gate of the citadel. But the most extraordinary part of this clamour, was the appalling roar of two huge elephants, trained to the express purpose of giving this note of the especial movements of the Great King.

He entered the saloon from the left, and advanced to the front of it, with an air and step which belonged entirely to a sovereign. I never before had beheld any thing like such perfect majesty; and he seated himself on his throne with the same undescribable, unaffected dignity. Had there been any assumption in his manner, I could not have been so impressed. I should then have seen a man, though a king, theatrically acting his state: here, I beheld a great sovereign feeling himself as such, and he looked the majesty he felt.

He was one blaze of jewels, which literally dazzled the sight on first looking at him; but the details of his dress were these; a lofty tiara of three elevations was on his head, which shape appears to have been long peculiar to the crown of the Great King. It was entirely

composed of thickly-set diamonds, pearls, rubies, and emeralds, so exquisitely disposed as to form a mixture of the most beautiful colours, in the brilliant light reflected from its surface. Several black feathers like the heron plume, were intermixed with the resplendent aigrettes of this truly imperial diadem, whose bending points were finished with pear-formed pearls, of an immense size. His vesture was of gold tissue, nearly covered with a similar disposition of jewellery; and, crossing the shoulders, were two strings of pearls, probably the largest in the world. I call his dress a vesture, because it sat close to his person, from the neck to the bottom of the waist, shewing a shape as noble as his air. At that point it devolved downwards in loose drapery, like the usual Persian garment, and was of the same costly materials with the vest. But for splendour, nothing could exceed the broad bracelets round his arms, and the belt which encircled his waist; they actually blazed like fire, when the rays of the sun met them; and when we know the names derived from such excessive lustre, we cannot be surprised at seeing such an effect. The jewelled band on the right arm was called *The Mountain of Light*; and that on the left, *The Sea of Light*; which superb diamonds, the rapacious conquests of Nadir Shah had placed in the Persian regalia, after sacking Delhi, stripping Mahomed Shah, the eleventh emperor of the Moguls, of his dominions, and adding to Persia all the provinces of Hindostan, north of the Indus. Vol. I. pp. 324—326.

* * * * *

‘ While the Great King (Futteh Ali Shah) was approaching his throne, the whole assembly, with one accord, continued bowing their heads to the ground till he had taken his place. A dead silence then ensued; the whole presenting a most magnificent, and indeed awful appearance; the stillness being so profound, amongst so vast a concourse, that the slightest rustling of the trees was heard, and the softest trickling of the water from the fountains into the canals. As the motionless state of every thing lasted for more than a minute, it allowed me time to observe particularly the figure of the Shah. His face seemed exceedingly pale, of a polished marble hue; with the finest contour of features; and eyes dark, brilliant, and piercing; a beard black as jet, and of a length which fell below his chest, over a large portion of the effulgent belt which held his diamond-hilted dagger. This extraordinary amplitude of beard, appears to have been a badge of Persian royalty, from the earliest times; for we find it attached to the heads of the sovereigns, in all the ancient sculptured remains throughout the empire.

‘ In the midst of this solemn stillness, while all eyes were fixed on the bright object before them, which sat, indeed, as radiant and immoveable as the image of Mithrus itself, a sort of volley of words, bursting at one impulse from the mouths of the mollahs and astrologers, made me start, and interrupted my gaze. This strange outcry was a kind of heraldic enumeration of the Great King's titles, dominions, and glorious acts; with an appropriate panegyric on his courage, liberality, and extended power. When this was ended, with all heads bowing to the ground, and the air ceased to vibrate with the sounds,

there was a pause for about half a minute, and then His Majesty spoke. The effect was even more startling than the sudden bursting forth of the moullahs; for this was like a voice from the tombs, so deep, so hollow, and at the same time so penetratingly loud. Having thus addressed his people, he looked towards Captain Willock, the British Chargé d'Affaires, with whom I stood: and then we moved forward to the front of the throne. The same awful voice, though in a lowered tone, spoke to him, and honoured me with a gracious welcome to his dominions. After His Majesty had put a few questions to me, and received my answers, we fell back into our places; and were instantly served with bowls of a most delicious sherbet, which very grateful refreshment was followed by an attendant presenting to us a large silver tray, on which lay a heap of small coin called a *shy*, of the same metal, mixed with a few pieces of gold. I imitated my friend in all these ceremonies, and held out both my hands to be filled with this royal largess; which, with no little difficulty, we passed through our festal trappings into our pockets.

'When the rest of the gratulatory compliments of the day, had been uttered between the monarch and his assembled nobles, the chief executioner, our former herald, gave us the signal that all was over for that morning. We then retired, as we came, under his auspices; but, if possible, with still more pressure and heat than we had battled through in our approach.'

Vol. I. pp. 327—329.

The Spring at Tehraun is pleasant and healthy; the thermometer of Reaumur being only from 70 to 80 in the shade. The garden of Negauristan, one of the King's palaces, loses little of its gaudiness in the perfumed diction of Sir Robert Porter.

'On my first entering this bower of fairy-land, (indeed I may call it the very garden of Beauty and the Beast!) I was struck with the appearance of two rose-trees, full fourteen feet high, laden with thousands of flowers, in every degree of expansion, and of a bloom and delicacy of scent that imbued the whole atmosphere with the most exquisite perfume. Indeed, I believe that in no country of the world does the rose grow in such perfection as in Persia; in no country is it so cultivated and prized by the natives. Their gardens and courts are crowded with its plants, their rooms ornamented with vases filled with its gathered bunches, and every bath strewn with the full-blown flowers, plucked from the ever-replenished stems. Even the humblest individual, who pays a piece of copper money for a few whiffs of a *kalioun*, feels a double enjoyment when he finds it stuck with a bud from his dear native tree! But in this delicious garden of Negauristan, the eye and the smell were not the only senses regaled by the presence of the rose. The ear was enchanted by the wild and beautiful notes of multitudes of nightingales, whose warblings seem to increase in melody and softness with the unfolding of their favourite flowers; verifying the song of their poet, who says: "When the roses fade, when the charms of the bower are passed away, the

fond tale of the nightingale no longer animates the scene." Vol. I. pp. 337, 8.

We dare not trust ourselves to the sentimental descriptions of the Asiatic women and their personal charms,—a subject on which our Author expatiates as in a congenial element. The empire of their beauty seldom outlives eight or ten years; the brief summer of their bloom beginning at eleven or twelve, and fading into ugliness and wrinkles at twenty. Under the present King, a great melioration in the manners of the Persians is stated to have taken place. Wine, forbidden by the Koran, had formerly been drunk to excess both by King and subjects. But Futteh Ali Shah and his sons, being strict observers of the religious ordinances of their country, the great men of the country following their example, have recovered their dignity and the respect of the people. In another important respect also, the morals of Persia appear to our Author considerably improved under the present dynasty. Brothels were formerly authorized and publicly licensed, and the Sefi princes drew a great revenue from them; but the existence of these places is now hardly known in the country.

The personal character of Futteh Ali Shah is eulogized to the skies. Sir Robert had frequent opportunities of observing it, and from every conference he came away 'with renewed impressions of the *amiable* in the man, one of the most essential qualities in the composition of a sovereign whose will is virtually 'the law.' But who can blame our Author for a little oriental hyperbole in describing the virtues of the Great King, when he adverts to the overwhelming honour that was reserved for him of drawing his Majesty's likeness?

'The wish had been imparted to the Shah; and his Majesty with that *bienséance* which as eminently belongs to the Persian court, as ever it did to that of Louis XIV., paying me a compliment that might have elevated my pencil and the hand that held it to a place among the stars, did me the honour to appoint a day when I was to transfer his image to paper.'

This sitting and the dress of the monarch occupy three or four pages of Sir Robert's quarto. The sketch, which is animated and striking, is prefixed to the volume. We cannot restrain ourselves from quoting the following passage as a complete specimen of the mock-heroic style of Sir Robert, which, like that of Mr. Puff, 'has as much to say upon a ribbon as a Raffaello.'

'As I traced his Majesty's features, line by line, I ascertained every detail of his physiognomy, and felt new interest in the varieties of its expression. His complexion, as I observed before, is exceedingly pale; but when he speaks on subjects that excite him, a vivid colour rushes to his cheek; but only for a moment, it passes so transiently away. His nose is very aquiline. His eye-brows, full, black,

and finely arched, with lashes of the same appearance, shading eyes of the most perfect form, dark and beaming, but at times full of a fire that kindles his whole countenance, though, in general, its expression is that of languor. His beard, black as jet, ample, and long, and tapering to a point considerably below the hilt of his dagger. The almost sublime dignity which this form of beard adds to the native majesty of his features, is not to be conceived; and the smile which often shone through it, ineffably sweet and noble, rather increased than diminished the effect. The British Chargé d'Affaires, with Abul Hassan Khan, were my companions to the presence; and, the Shah conversing with them during my occupation, the changes of the subjects gave his fine physiognomy every play. Yet the enervating style of his life was evident, both in the languid movement of his eye, when he sat quiescent, and from the usual hollow tone of his otherwise sonorous voice; but which, like the occasional flashes from his eyes, became powerful when under the influence of animating discourse.' Vol. I. p. 356.

Having surveyed the ruins of the famous city of Rhey, Rhé, or Rey, of which it would be injustice not to remark, that he has given a more detailed description than any other European traveller, our Author proceeded on his tour to the south of the empire on the 13th May, 1818, with a suitable escort for the expedition, and a royal firman to afford him requisite facilities on his progress.

The caravansaras, without which travelling through a country so waste and depopulated as Persia would be wholly impracticable, are generally erected on the same plan (varying only in dimensions and architectural ornament) throughout the empire. That of Guz is thus described.

'The extent of this building is an exact square of one hundred yards on every side, flanked by four towers, of a diameter so disproportioned to the length of the intervening walls, as not to exceed nine feet. Within these walls are the buildings which form the accommodations of the caravan. On entering the great gate, the first object that presents itself, is a kind of piazza, which extends itself on every side of the interior of the quadrangle, leaving a noble area, or court in the middle. These piazzas are subdivided into lofty arched apartments, open in front, and all neatly paved. At ten feet within each of these, is another chamber, fifteen feet deep, and containing, at its farther end, a fire-place, besides several little compartments cut out of the thickness of the wall, called *topshels*, or cupboards, which are deemed indispensables in every Persian room. This interior chamber is seldom resorted to before winter; the outer one, open to the court, being considered the summer apartment, from the advantage it affords of breathing the free, incommoded air. The traveller spreads his *pumud* upon the paved floor; sitting it up with bedding according to his own idea of comfort; but nothing is really necessary, beyond a pillow, with a sheet for the warmest nights, and a quilt for the cool. Immediately behind this double range of chambers, runs an open space

or lane, in like manner following the quadrangular sweep of the building; the hinder side of the lane, (that is, the one nearest the wall of the caravansary,) being an arcade also; and divided into cell-like apartments, for the use of servants, muleteers, and other persons, wishing to keep station near their cattle: which are generally stabled in the lane, between the front of this last arcade, and the back of the one first described. Sometimes, when the caravansary is very full, the animals are picketed in the great court, while their attendants sleep on a large elevated square platform, which occupies the centre; and round it, the packages of the travellers are piled up in heaps. Reposing in the open air is not merely a luxury to all orders of people in this climate, at this season, but is indispensable to their health and their comfort in many other respects; close apartments being often not only intolerable from heat, but often sorely infested with vermin both great and small. One ample entrance leads into the caravansary, the gates of which are closed soon after sun-set, and only occasionally re-opened during the night for the egress of departing guests. Beneath the extensive vaulted roof of the porch, are the quarters of the keeper, or warden, and his people; with the shop, and other repositories of the accommodations he prepares for travellers. Amongst this numerous store, we see exposed to sale, tobacco, rice, grapes, water-melons, eggs, grease, bread, wood, corn, moss, &c. This last article is a beverage of acidulated milk, and when diluted with water, is a favourite drink with the natives; the antiquity of the beverage is so great, that Plutarch mentions it as part of the ceremony at the consecration of the Persian kings, to quaff off a large goblet of this acidulated mixture: an apt emblem of the sweets and sour that fill the cup of royalty! Every commodity being sold at double the ordinary price, the renter of the caravansary is enabled to pay liberally to the agent of the crown for his privilege, and to realize a very handsome profit besides.' Vol. I. pp. 400—2.

Ispahan lies in lat. $32^{\circ} 40' 24''$, long. $84^{\circ} 18'$. It has for ages been deemed the capital of Persia, and was raised to great magnificence by the renowned Shah Abbas. We are sorry, however, to observe that our Author has followed Chardin's long, tedious, and hyperbolical account of this city; and at the end of his description, he amuses himself in a most ridiculous passage, by imagining what Mr. Anacreon Moore would have said to the shade of Shah Abbas, had he fallen in with him.

'How would the seer-spirit of our poet of Persia, Thomas Moore, have apostrophized the shade of Shah Abbas, the lord of all these departed festivities; had he been looking out that moonlight night, as I did on the first of my sojourn in that vast and lonely palace, on the deep solitude of those former gardens of pleasure! He would have re-peopled those silent glades with the first of the royal name, who made Ispahan the emporium of nations; he would have seen him—&c. &c.'

In Chardin's time, its population was six hundred thousand; but since that period, its glories have been nearly destroyed by

the merciless invasions of its Affghan conquerors, and its people are now computed at about a tenth of that calculation. Its streets are silent and abandoned: its bazaars neglected; its palaces in ruins; and the nocturnal laugh and song with which its beauteous gardens once resounded, are succeeded by the yells of jackalls, and the howls of famished dogs. The Chehel Setoon, or Forty Pillars, the favourite palace of the Sefi kings, appeared to our Author a magic vision in the wonderful tales of an Arabian night; and he luxuriates in the delineation. Yet, he seems to be ignorant that it is, in fact, supported only by twenty pillars, which, by reflection in the tank, appear as forty, and that from this circumstance its name is derived. The six large historical pictures of the banqueting hall are described; but it is scarcely possible to comprehend them distinctly amid the mazes of Sir Robert's metaphorical confusion. As specimens of art, indeed, they are ridiculous; but, as faithful representations of the costume and manners of the time to which they relate, they are invaluable. In truth, the art, though it never approximated in this country to excellence, seems to have receded from the Sefi age. In a large hunting-piece in the new palace erected for Futteh Ali Shah and his two hundred and forty children, groupes of courtiers stray all over the surface, east, west, north, south, not unlike the groupes on the pocket handkerchiefs worn by the common people in England, where the figures leap over mountains, walls, castles, nay, into the very sky. The Persian painters magnificently disdain light and shadow, and pay no regard to perspective.

Julfa, separated by a bridge across the Zeinderood from Is-pahan, was originally a colony of Armenians. But its ten thousand inhabitants have dwindled to three hundred wretched families; its thirteen Armenian churches to two only, dark, squalid, and tawdry in their decorations. This suburb is also a deplorable monument of the overwhelming violence of the Affghan incursion. The Armenians throughout the Persian empire, are a poor despised race, and addicted to drunkenness and gluttony. The women are equally degenerated, since the era of Shah Abbas. They actually educate their children to violation, and sell them at the tender age of twelve or thirteen to the highest bidder.

Our Traveller does not make an excursion to the Atesh-gah, (he adopts the absurd orthography of Attush-kou,) or place of fire, visited by Morier in his Second Journey, but contents himself with a bird's eye view of it from the roof of the Sefi gate.

As this Attush-kou is an artificial mount, and stands close to the quarter of the city where the Guebres, and particularly those who followed the arms of Mahmoud, dwelt; no doubt they re-seated themselves in a spot that had been inhabited by their ancestors from the

first peopling of the banks of the Zeinderood, and they found it thus marked by the *High Place* of their worship.' Vol. I. p. 438.

A most confused account, enveloped in a mass of unmeaning words literally signifying nothing, of a spot that would be deemed worthy of a pilgrimage by those who are earnest in the study of Oriental antiquity! In fact, the mount is not artificial; it is a hill composed of several strata of native rock. On its summit are several interesting ruins, of mud bricks baked in the sun, between which are layers of reeds without any apparent cement. It seems to have escaped Mr. Morier, and, we believe, every other traveller, that this was the style of building peculiar to the Israelites, who carried it with them from Babel into Midian, Egypt, and Persia.

The sinuous course of the valley of Yezdikhast, marks the limits of Irak Ajem, the ancient Media; dividing it from the present province of Fars or Pars, which, under the classic appellation of Persis, once comprised the original kingdom of Persia. We extract the following description of the Goorkhur or wild ass, one of which species our Traveller saw as he was entering into the province of Fars.

'The sun was just rising over the summits of the Eastern mountains, when my greyhound, Cooley, suddenly darted off in pursuit of an animal, which my Persians said, from the glimpse they had of it, was an antelope. I instantly put spurs to my horse, and followed by Sedak Beg and the mehmandar, followed the chase. After an unrelaxed gallop of full three miles, we came up with the dog, who was then within a short stretch of the creature he pursued; and to my surprise, and at first, vexation, I saw it to be an ass. But, on a moment's reflection, judging from its fleetness it must be a wild one, a species little known in Europe, but which the Persians prize above all other animals as an object of chase, I determined to approach as near to it, as the very swift Arab I was on would carry me. But the single instant of checking my horse to consider, had given our game such a head of us, that, notwithstanding all our speed, we could not recover our ground on him. I, however, happened to be considerably before my companions, when, at a certain distance, the animal in its turn made a pause, and allowed me to approach within pistol-shot of him. He then darted off again with the quickness of thought; capering, kicking, and sporting in his flight, as if he were not blown in the least, and the chase were his pastime.

'He appeared to me to be about ten or twelve hands high; the skin smooth, like a deer's, and of a reddish colour; the belly and hinder parts partaking of a silvery grey; his neck was finer than that of a common ass, being longer, and bending like a stag's, and his legs beautifully slender; the head and ears seemed large in proportion to the gracefulness of these forms, and by them I first recognised that the object of my chase was of the ass tribe. The mane was short and black, as was also a tuft which terminated his tail. No line whatever ran along his back, or crossed his shoulders, as are seen on the tame

species with us. When my followers of the country came up, they regretted I had not shot the creature when he was so within my aim, telling me his flesh is one of the greatest delicacies in Persia; but it would not have been to eat him that I should have been glad to have had him in my possession. The prodigious swiftness and peculiar manner with which he fled across the plain, coincided exactly with the description that Xenophon gives of the same animal in Arabia. (vide *Anabasis*, b. i.) But, above all, it reminded me of the striking portrait drawn by the author of the book of Job.' Vol. I. pp. 459, 60.

The accurate pen of Mr. Morier has scarcely left any thing pertaining to the ruins of Mourg-aub undescribed. Our Traveller, however, with a commendable diligence, has not forborne a minute delineation of them. The most considerable of them bears the name of Tackt-i-Suleiman, or the throne of Sulieman. It appears to have been the platform of a building, and consists of hewn stones raised to a level with a rock to which it adheres. Its front is about three hundred feet. He could discover no trace of columns, nor even of marble. It commands the entrance into the valley, or rather plain of Mourg-aub, now received to be that of Pasargardæ, the city originally founded by Cyrus, and containing the tomb of that monarch. The learned world are indebted to Mr. Morier for the hypothesis, that the ruins scattered over this valley are those of Pasargardæ. The tomb called Mesched-Madre i-Sulieman, or the tomb of the Mother of Sulieman, Sir Robert conjectures, and upon plausible grounds of reasoning, to be the Tomb of Cyrus, and cites Arrian's account of that structure in confirmation of his opinion. He deduces a still stronger argument in its favour, from the ancient cuneiform or arrow-headed character found on all the pillars of this place, without the deviation of a single curve. Professor Grottefund, who has made considerable progress in decyphering what Sir Robert incorrectly terms the most ancient form of writing, has translated the memorable inscription,

' Dominus Cyrus rex orbis rector.'

Our Author considers this obscure question to be at length set to rest, and that henceforth the traveller who visits this ruin, may confidently say, *In that small house of stone lies Cyrus, king of kings.*

Great praise is due to our Traveller for the diligence with which he explored, and the accuracy with which he copied, the ruins of what is called the Harem of Jemsheed, and those of Nakshi-Roustam or the mountain of sepulchres. Of the latter we have some curious notices. Having examined the exterior of the tombs, (for the details, we refer our readers to the volume itself,) he penetrated into their interior; an attempt of no little danger as well as fatigue. For the bas relievos and other curious sculptures found in these remains, we must also refer to the nu-

merous drawings which illustrate his researches. We feel no disposition to follow Sir Robert through his antiquarian disquisitions, from a conviction of the utter hopelessness of arriving at clear and satisfactory decisions on subjects involved in inextricable obscurity; more especially as his redundancy of diction would render the task still more perplexed and difficult. We abstain from these topics with less reluctance, from the persuasion that the learned and laborious investigations of Mr. Morier left little more to his successor than to take more detailed copies of the antiquities, and to state his conjectures more diffusely, perhaps, but with little additional strength or perspicuity.

Our Author's attention was next directed to the ruins of Persepolis, the great capital of the empire. It lies in lat. $29^{\circ} 50' 39''$. He justly remarks, that all attempts to trace the origin of this renowned city, would be fruitless; but concludes that the only means now in our reach, of forming any satisfactory conjectures on the subject, are those of calculating the probable eras of the ruins, by comparing them with similar specimens of art in countries once connected by conquest or by alliance with Persia. He is strongly inclined, from the resemblances he observed in the remains of Persepolis to the architectural taste of Egypt, to infer that this splendid capital was enriched with the spoils of Thebes in the reign of Cambyses the son of Cyrus, and that this monarch 'accompanied the spoil with Egyptian workmen to place the decorations in their new places.' An elaborate historical illustration of the bas-reliefs follows, which it would be wholly inconsistent with our limits to analyse or abridge. An engraving is given of the inscription in arrow-head characters, of which Le Brun had copied the concluding part. This was omitted by Mr. Morier, and our Traveller deserves commendation for the laborious fidelity with which it seems to be executed. Were we inclined to enter into the dark labyrinth of these antiquities, we should lean towards the inferences of Hager and Lichtenstein, who consider them to be variations of the Hebrew alphabet. Nor is it (Sir Robert will forgive the boldness of our hypothesis) at all improbable, that the inscriptions of Persepolis should have been written in that language. The province of Elam, or Elymais, in which that city was built, appears to have been colonized by a Jewish clan in the time of Darius. It should be recollected also, that the entire dynasty of Persian sovereigns from Cyrus to the Darius whom Alexander dethroned, were of Jewish extraction and Jewish religion. By one of these monarchs, the structures of Persepolis were in all probability erected. Jemsheed, which was the oriental name of the city, was perhaps the oriental name also of Cambyses, the father of Cyrus, who superintended the buildings of the capital, while his son was engaged in his conquests.

On the 21st July 1818, Sir Robert bade adieu to Persepolis. The next day, he arrived at the far-famed stream of Rocknabad, which owes its immortality to the strains of Hafiz. It is now dwindled into a mere rivulet, and the beautiful scenery which once adorned its banks, is no more. A little onward, through an opening in the mountains, appeared the city of Shiraz. We cannot omit the description of the distant view of this celebrated place, accompanied as it is with a transient but honourable mention of Henry Martyn; a name which will never fade from our memory, so long as unwearied ardour in the cause of the Gospel, and the gentlest and purest virtues of the heart, shall retain their reverence among us.

'It stood,' says our Author, 'in an extensive plain, at the foot of the height we were descending, and seemed a place of great consequence and extent, from the mosques and other lofty buildings which towered above the flat roofs of the vast expanse of dwelling-houses. Gardens stretched on all sides of the fortified walls; and, faint with sickness and fatigue, I felt a momentary reviving pleasure in the sight of a hospitable city, and the cheerful beauty of the view. As I drew near, the image of my exemplary countryman, Henry Martyn, rose in my thoughts, seeming to sanctify the shelter to which I was hastening. He had approached Shiraz much about the same season of the year, A. D. 1811, and like myself, was gasping for life under the double pressure of an inward fire, and outward burning sun. He dwelt there nearly a year; and on leaving its walls, the apostle of Christianity found no cause for "shaking off the dust of his feet" against the Mahomedan city. The inhabitants had received, cherished, and listened to him; and he departed thence amidst the blessings and tears of many a Persian friend. Through his means, the Gospel had then found its way into Persia; and as it appears to have been sown in kindly hearts, the gradual effect hereafter, may be like the harvest to the seedling. But, whatever be the issue, the liberality with which his doctrines were permitted to be discussed, and the hospitality with which their promulgator was received by the learned, the nobles, and persons of all ranks, cannot but reflect lasting honour on the government, and command our respect for the people at large. Besides, to a person who thinks at all on these subjects, the circumstances of the first correct Persian translation of the Holy Scriptures being made at Shiraz, and thence put into the royal hands, and disseminated through the empire, cannot but give an almost prophetic emphasis to the transaction, as arising from the very native country (Persia Proper) of the founder of the empire, who first bade the temple of Jerusalem be rebuilt, who returned her sons from captivity, and who was called by name to the divine commission.'

* The son of the late Jaffier Ali Khan came out to meet me: he hailed me, more like an old friend than a *frangeh* stranger; and received myself and people into his house with every cordial hospitality our situation needed. My fever had gained an alarming height; and one

of my European servants, a Russian, was in an unmanageable state, having become delirious. Repose seemed the first point, to give some check, if possible, to the advance of our disorder; and when too ill almost to thank our kind host, I found cool apartments prepared, and every comfort he could command, even to a physician, if I would have trusted myself and faithful follower to Asiatic medical skill. From general observation, and a little particular instruction on the subject before I left Europe, I had gained some knowledge of the disorders incidental to this climate, and the safest mode of treating them; hence, I took myself and servant into my own hands, and did not spare our travelling pharmacopeia. The nummud on which I lay, spread in a shaded corner of my room, with the air breathing in at the open window, and the sweet refreshment of rose-water sprinkled over my clothes, while the flowers themselves scattered on the floor, or gathered in pots near me, exhaled a fuller fragrance;—these were all that I saw of Shiraz for several days after my arrival. But the attentions of my host were so unwearied, that I never could forget I was in the house of the near kinsman of the two noble Persians, Jaffier Ali Khan, and Mirza Seid Ali, who had shewn the warmest personal friendship to our “Man of God!” for so they designated Henry Martyn. When the weather became too intense for his enfeebled frame to bear the extreme heat of the city, Jaffier Ali Khan pitched a tent for him in a most delightful garden beyond the walls, where he pursued his Asiatic translations of the Scriptures; or sometimes in the cool of the evening, he sat under the shade of an orange-tree, by the side of a clear stream, holding that style of conversation with the two admirable brothers, which caused their pious guest to say, “That the bed of roses on which he reclined, and the notes of the nightingales which warbled above him, were not so sweet as such discourse from Persian lips.” The land in which he so expressed himself, is indeed that of the “bulbul and the rose;” the poet Hafiz having sung of their charms till he identified their names with that of his native city.’

Vol. I. pp. 687—689.

Shiraz is in lat. $29^{\circ} 33' 55''$. It stands in a fine valley, and has a pleasant, rather than an imposing appearance. It is here that Kerim Khan is said to have erected tombs for Hafiz and the philosophical poet Sadi. But a solitary cypress or two are all that mark the spot where Hafiz reposes. That which holds the remains of Sadi, presented an appearance still more forlorn. We forbear following our Author into his sentimental bewailings upon the neglected condition of these monuments, remarking only that they are in the worst taste possible.

The present governor of Shiraz is Hassan Ali Mirza, one of the King's sons. Every thing within the town seems neglected: the bazaars and maidans are falling into ruins; the streets are choaked with filth; and the squalid poor are seen crawling out of their hovels in a state of indescribable wretchedness. The

water, from mere neglect, is so foul as to injure the health of the inhabitants. The grapes in the valley grow to a size and fullness hardly to be matched in other climates, and produce the celebrated wine of Shiraz. But, whatever may have been its former reputation, since the accession of the present royal family, who are strict in their obedience to the injunctions of the Koran, the whole manufacture has fallen into disrepute. The vine itself is comparatively neglected, the sorting of the fruit disregarded, and the apparatus used is on so small a scale, that only small quantities of the best flavour can be obtained. No wine has so many varieties, from the most transparent brightness to the most muddy syrup. The Armenians of the district are the only persons who venture to make it. But it is sold and drunk in secrecy.

Our Author resolved to return from this place to Ispahan for the recovery of his health, with an intention to proceed to Hamadan, the ancient Ecbatana, anxious to compare its relics with those of Persepolis, and thence to pursue the winding courses of the Tigris and the Euphrates, in order to investigate the stupendous pile of Babylon. The fruits of this projected peregrination, we are promised in another volume.

From the occasional murmurs which have escaped us during our progress through this massy volume, it will be perceived that we are far from being in good humour with its style of composition. The sense is for ever lost amid the indistinct masses of a cloudy phraseology. Hence, there is no sort of proportion between the matter and the words in which it is embodied. When the Author conceives, or seems to conceive an idea, he disappoints us with a countless litter of epithets. He is for ever describing, even when there is hardly any thing to describe. His diction is emphatically of that class,

‘Where pure description holds the place of sense.’

Thus we have long and verbose descriptions, almost in the manner of Salvator Rosa, of dreadful banditti, who never make their appearance, and of perils by ‘flood and field,’ which he never encounters. In portraying the scenery of Persia, his language, to use an oriental metaphor, seems ‘drunk with the fragrance of the air.’ Roses and jessamines, clustering parterres of fruits and flowers, dark-green shadows, gurgling of waters, golden rays of the setting sun, embroider his pages with every variety of verbal millinery. His fits also of wonder seem to have no end; and he invariably loses his senses at the sight of what is awful and stupendous,—the icy summits of Ararat or the craggy defiles of Caucasus. His fault is, that he will not tell us any thing simply and naturally, according to the unexaggerated

impression of the moment; an inexpressible fault in a book of travels.

We complain, moreover, of another feature (unfortunately a prominent one) in this volume; we mean the perpetual propensity which he manifests, to lose himself in obscurities of learned languages and ancient authors. If we do not grossly err, Sir Robert has 'little Latin and less Greek.' Speaking of a garden, he calls it *this horti Adonidis*, without any deference to concord. And he thus translates the inscription on the tomb of Cyrus, *Εἰθαδ' ἔγω κεῖμαι Κυρος βασιλεὺς βασιλῶν*. 'Here is placed Cyrus King of Kings.'

Yet, making due deductions for bad taste, false learning, and inflated diction, much amusement, and perhaps some information, are to be derived from his writings. They are evidently those of an amiable and good-humoured man, disposed to be pleased with himself and every thing about him, 'from Dan to Beersheba.' Some of his drawings are admirable, and we cannot speak in too high commendation of his sketches of the sculptures and bas-reliefs which he took at Persepolis and Nakshi Roustam.

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1. Art. II. *Horæ Britannicæ*; or Studies in Ancient British History, containing various Disquisitions on the National and Religious Antiquities of Great Britain. By John Hughes. 2 vols. 8vo. London. 1818, 19.
 2. *The Welsh Nonconformist's Memorial*; or Cambro-British Biography; containing Sketches of the Founders of the Protestant Dissenting Interest in Wales. To which are prefixed, An Essay on Druidism, and Introduction of the Gospel into Britain. With an Appendix. By the late Rev. William Richards, LL.D. Edited, with Notes, by John Evans, LL.D. 12mo. pp. xxxvi, 500. Price 8s. London. 1820.

MR. HUGHES claims for his work 'the honour of being the first thing of the kind, as a history of the British churches, treated in any thing of a popular shape, for the use of English readers in general.' We have already adverted to his work in noticing Mr. Stuart's recent history of Armagh, but it is entitled to a more distinct notice. It is a highly respectable compilation; and as the works from which the Author has drawn his materials, are not generally accessible, some from their bulk and costliness, others from the language and letter in which their contents are shrouded from the vulgar, he deserves the thanks of the public for having compressed the results of much dry and tedious investigation into the compass of two very readable and entertaining volumes.

Mr. Richards (or, if Doctor Evans prefers it, *Dr. Richard* although the American diploma never reached the good Welsh-

man,) had been, for some years before his death, employed in similar researches. His Essay on Druidism forms the first part of a concise ancient British history, which is brought down, in the subsequent sketches, to the time of Wicklif. This occupies a hundred and thirty pages of the volume, and although a mere outline, will convey a correct general idea of the history of the period. The memoirs of Vavasor Powell and his fellow-labourers, extend to two hundred and forty more; and the remainder of the volume is occupied with miscellanies.

The word Britain, which, according to Bochart, is of Phœnician derivation, from *Barat-anac*, the land of tin,* is derived by our Cambrian lexicographers from *pryd*, beauty; *prydain* signifying *beautiful*, either in reference to the country itself, or as the Welsh Triads assert, being so called from a great legislator of that name, the Numa of the isle, Prydain the son of Aedd the Great. The proper name in its radical form, is, on this hypothesis, Prydain, or Ynys Prydain; but Mr. Hughes conjectures that this mysterious personage was no other than a personification of the Island itself.

It is generally supposed, that this Island must have been peopled from Gaul at least five hundred years before Christ. The Celts emigrated originally from Asia: they settled principally in Gaul, and in parts of Italy; and from them Britain is commonly held to have received its first inhabitants. Mr. Hughes, however, contends that the Island must have been previously inhabited, and that it was peopled not many centuries after the Flood. Spain and Gaul must, he argues, have been inhabited long prior to the date assigned to the earliest Celtic colony in this Island; and Britain could not remain entirely uninhabited for any length of time after the continent had been stocked with inhabitants. The Trojan origin of the British nation, which is generally treated as a mere fiction of Geoffrey of Monmouth's, is supposed by our Author to be founded on a much more ancient tradition; the Brutus of the Chronicle being no other than Prydyn, the son of Hu-ysgwn, the leader of one of the earliest colonies. According to the Welsh Triads, some of which, there is good reason to believe, are of remote antiquity, three successive colonies came over from the continent at a very early period. The first was the *Cymry* or Cymbrians, for whom is claimed the honour of being the first occupiers of the soil: they are said to have come over *Môr Tawch* (the hazy ocean) from the land of *Háv* or *Deffrobani*. The land of *Háv* (in Welsh, the *summer country*) is explained by the learned Author of the Celtic Re-

* The Cassiterides of Strabo, a word of the same import, are supposed also to denote the British islands.

searches, to be the land of *Hâm*: 'it may,' he adds, 'import *Hæmus*.' *Deffrobani* is stated in the *Triads*, to be the country 'where Constantinople now stands;' but this comment is suspected to be the remark of some copyist. The second race, the *Lloegrwys*, *Loegrians*, or *Ligurois*, are stated to have come from the land of *Gwasgwyn* (Gascony.) The third tribe, the *Brython* or *Britons*, came from the land of *Llydaw* (Letavia, Armorica, or Bas Bretagne). Both these tribes are affirmed to have sprung from the primordial race of the *Cymry*, and 'the three were of one language and of one speech.' Three other tribes are stated to have settled in the Island, with the permission of the *Cymry*, 'without weapon or assault:' the *Celyddon*, or *Caledonians* in the North; the *Gwydhelians*, who also settled in the highlands of Scotland; and the men of *Galedin*, 'who came in their boats to the Isle of Wight, when their country was overflowed, and were allowed a territory by the race of *Cymry*, but could not be entitled to the rights of natives until the ninth generation.' After these,

'Three usurping tribes came into the Isle of Britain, and never departed out of it. The first of those was that of the *Coraniaid*, who came from the land of the *Pwyl* (or Poland, according to the etymology of the word, and according to the application of it, to denote that country, by the modern Welsh); the second was, the *Gwyddelian Fichti* (Picts), who came into *Alban* (Scotland), over the sea of *Llychlyn*, or *Lochlyn*: the third was that of the Saxons.'

The *Coraniaid*, or *Coritani*, occupied a territory on each side of the *Humber*, including the counties of *Leicester*, *Rutland*, *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, and *Derby*; and in these counties there is no trace of the *Cambro-British* tongue. On the arrival of the *Saxons*, they united with them against the natives, and succeeded in obtaining the sovereignty of the Island. All the *Loegrians* became one people with the *Saxons*, those only excepted who inhabited *Cornwall* and *Northumberland*; but the *Cymry*, although dispossessed of the empire, are stated to have kept their country and their language; and the *Britons*, who were of a common descent, became blended with them. The 'men of *Galedin*' are no other than the *Belgæ*, numerous hordes of whom followed the first detachment, occupying the South-eastern coast. Their first coming over is reckoned to have been about four hundred years before Christ, since, by the time of *Cæsar*, not only *Kent* and *Sussex*, but *Hampshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Devonshire*, and *Cornwall*, were occupied by their descendants, and bore their names. The wars occasioned by these invaders, are supposed by *Mr. Whitaker* to have conduced to the peopling of *Ireland* from this Island. The *Coritani* are supposed to have also been a *Belgic* tribe: they merged in the swarms of *Angles* and *Danes* who poured

into the North of England, at nearly the same time that the Saxons invaded the counties South of the Thames, and drove the former inhabitants into Wales, Cornwall, and Britany, where they became mixed with the aborigines. The true ancient Britons are generally supposed to be represented by the Highlanders of Scotland and the Irish, whose language plainly proves their identity. Whether these Celtic tribes or the Cymry have the best claim to be considered as the aboriginal possessors of Britain, we shall have occasion presently to shew. Ireland,* most probably at a very early period, would receive colonists from the shores of the Bay of Biscay; and it would afford a ready asylum to different races of fugitive Britons when driven before successive invaders. The first inhabitants of Ireland, according to Richard of Cirencester, came from South Britain. The large proportion of Gothic words to be found in the Erse and Gaelic, shews that both Ireland and Scotland received at an early period of the Christian era, colonists from Scandinavia. Almost half the Welsh language is said to be German: it contains also a great deal of Latin as well as Celtic. If the Welsh Triads may be relied on, and the Cymry retained their original language, this circumstance would seem to justify the opinion of their affinity with the Celtic and Germanic families. But what was the language of the Belgic Britons, with whom the Romans, on their first invasion, came chiefly in contact? Was it the Gadelic or the Cymraeg,—Gaelic or Welsh? 'It is admitted,' says Mr. Hughes, 'that the language spoken by the natives of Wales, is the same that was spoken in this Island previous to the establishment of the Romans;' but he doubts whether it was ever spoken by the central Britons. It was principally spoken by the inhabitants of the Western coast, from Cornwall to the Firth of Clyde. What then was the language of the Belgæ,—of the Cassii, the Trinobantes, and the Iceni? It must have differed from that of the Cymry; and as the greater part of the nation are represented in the Triads as becoming one people with the Saxons, the language of the Belgæ, as well as that of the Coritani, was probably allied to the Saxon; and the Welsh may have derived its mixture of German from the blending of the Cimbric with the Belgic Britons. The Coritani, instead of coming from Poland, or from Holland, (which Mr. Davies supposes to be denoted by the land of Pwyl,) might with more plausibility be conjectured to be Angles or Danes. These tribes, as distinguished from the aborigines, Mr. Pinkerton considers as the main stock from which the English nation is sprung, since the few Saxons and Angles who repeatedly came over in

* Mr. Hughes seems, in his Appendix, to lean to the opinion, that the Gwydhelians or Irish were the primitive inhabitants of Britain, and that they were driven northward and westward by the Cimbric, Loegrian, and Breton tribes.

the fifth and sixth centuries, and of whom many fell in battle, could never, he argues, be the parents of such a nation as that which possessed England in the time of Bede and of Alfred.

We have, then, three grand divisions of the nation, distinguished by their respective languages—the old Celtic race, to which are to be referred the Albanian and Hibernian Scots, of whom traces are left in the Gaelic and the Erse; the Cymry or aboriginal Britons of the Western coast, including the Cornish, the Cumbrians, and the Armorican Bretons; and the mixed Celto-Germanic race who ultimately assumed the designation of Anglo-Saxons. It has been supposed that the Gaelic or Erse, and the Cymraeg, had originally a much closer affinity, and that both the North Britons and the Welsh Britons were of the same great Celtic family. It is probable enough, that the language of the former would become considerably modified by a larger mixture of the Scandinavian dialects, while that of the latter would blend itself with that of the continental tribes who subdued the South of Britain and the counties bordering on Wales. Of the Cambro-British tongue, there were three distinct dialects; the Silurian, which is supposed to be the most ancient, spoken in the counties of Hereford, Radnor, Monmouth, Glamorgan, and Gloucester west of the Severn; that of the Dimetæ, inhabiting the remainder of South Wales; and that of the Ordovices of North Wales. The fragments of ancient poetry, however, handed down to us as the productions of Aneurin the Northumbrian, Llywarch, the Cumbrian prince, and Myrddin the Caledonian, are, Mr. Hughes affirms, ‘as intelligible to a good Welshman of the present age as the works of Taliesin of North Wales; and all these are much in the same language as the laws of Prince Howel, composed in the tenth century, in South Wales.’

It is not by any means clearly ascertained to what race the Picts are to be referred. Bede speaks of them as having a language peculiar to themselves, enumerating five languages spoken in Britain in his day: ‘Anglorum (Anglo Saxons), Britonum (Welsh), Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.’ But Mr. Hughes thinks that Bede may not have been acquainted with the Pictish, and that it may have been only a dialect of the Cymbro-British. This does not strike us as very probable. Camden, Whitaker, Henry, Smollett, and Macpherson, are a powerful array of authorities on the side of the opinion which makes them Caledonian Britons. They were evidently, however, a distinct nation from the Scots; and the authority of the *Triads* will sufficiently justify our asserting them to have been of an origin distinct from the Northumbrian and Cumbrian Cymry. Etymology can avail us little in determining the point; but we strongly incline to the supposition that they were of Scandinavian extraction.

There can be no doubt as to the original identity of the Welsh,

the Cornish, and the Breton or Armoric dialects. The learned Father Pezron, not content with claiming for them the distinction of being the genuine relics of the ancient language of Gaul and Britain, exclaims, in the fullness of antiquarian enthusiasm: 'What a singular fact, that so ancient a language should now be spoken by the Armorican Bretons in France, and by the ancient Britons in Wales; for these are the people who have the honour of preserving the language of the posterity of Gomer, Japhet's eldest son'!! This is rather at variance with the supposed derivation of the Cymry from the land of *Ham*, and not less so with their Celto-Scythian extraction.—According to the most learned Welshmen of our own day, the language bears decided marks of its Asiatic origin, resembling the Hebrew both in its terms and idioms, and its syntax. Its pronunciation also is stated to resemble that of the East, while its composition and structure approach nearer to the Oriental tongues than to any European language.' The Asiatic origin of the Celts and Goths, is unquestionable; and their language might be expected to exhibit more or less the proofs of their extraction. But why the Cymraeg should preserve more of an Asiatic character than the Erse or the Gothic, does not appear. The Bretons have laboured under peculiar disadvantages, having no printed book among them for general use, and no version of the Scriptures. Mr. Hughes remarks:

'We have the Sacred Scriptures in every language spoken in the British isles, new editions having lately been published of the Irish and Gaelic; and there have been repeated editions of the Welsh in this, as well as in the last two centuries. The Manksmen have the Scriptures in the dialect of their small island: but the *Bretons of France* have not as much as the New Testament in their ancient tongue. There appears to be no one likely to undertake such a work; except some Welshman engage in it, and thus make some return, after the lapse of numerous ages, for the labours of Garmon and his associates in our island, in the fourth century.'

Such a work will, we trust, before long be supplied under the auspices either of the British and Foreign Bible Society, or the Bible Society recently established at Paris. Among no people, if we may rely on the accounts of recent travellers, does it seem more desirable to circulate, in their vernacular tongue, the hitherto sealed volume of Inspiration. They inhabit a fine country; they once boasted of liberty and independence; they had, like the Welsh, their heroes and their bards, their history and their literature; but they have sunk into the most abject degeneracy. 'During my excursion in Wales,' says Mrs. Stothard, 'I heard continually some recurrence to their ancient history, some tradition or legendary tale; but I never met with a single instance of this kind in Britany.....Most of our ancient metrical romances derive their origin from the genius and ef-

‘ fusions of the Breton bards. Many of the early Norman poets
 ‘ avowed the subjects of their lays were likewise borrowed from
 ‘ the Bretons. But at the present time, they have not in Britany
 ‘ any legendary songs or poems that sprung from their bards. I
 ‘ say this, because I have made every possible inquiry to gain
 ‘ full information, and I could never learn that they retained any
 ‘ portion, however obscure, of their ancient poetry or traditions.’

The difference between the Patois of Britany and the Welsh, appears to arise from the former having received a large portion of the language of the Franks, which was a compound of the Latin and the Teutonic. Mr. Hughes has given, in an appendix to the second volume, numerous specimens of the ancient languages of Gaul and Britain, in which the Welsh, Cornish, and Armoric generally differ only in their orthography. In some cases, the latter two present a close resemblance, while both differ from the former: in a few, the Welsh and the Armoric agree, and the Cornish differs. The Breton language as now spoken, varies considerably in different districts of Britany, but not much more, perhaps, than the Welsh varies in North and South Wales. It is said to have more words in common with the Saxon, than the Welsh has, while the Cornish approaches nearer than either of the other dialects, to the Irish. According to the same authority, that of Mr. Owen, the Irish has, of all the Celtic languages, the greatest affinity of structure with the Latin; which, taken in connexion with Mr. Llydd's remark, that there are decided marks of affinity in the Irish with the Old Spanish (or Cantabrian), strengthens the supposition that the Hibernian Scoti came originally from Spain, agreeably to the assertion of Ninius, while the Gwydhelians, with whom they ultimately blended, emigrated from Britain. We must refer those of our readers who are disposed to pursue these philological speculations to the *Cambrian Register*, the *Archæologia Britannica*, and the other works cited by Mr. Hughes. His own opinion appears to be either undecided or confused; and we have to complain that the subject, instead of being fully discussed in a distinct and connected form, is broken into desultory remarks and detached appendices, so that the information which the volumes contain, is given piece-meal in a manner which leads us to suppose that the Author collected it as he went along.

There is a similar want of arrangement and distinctness in his treatise on the Druidical worship. We have first, disquisitions on the learning, religious rites, and mythology of the Druids; next, remarks on the religion of the ancient Britons, and proofs of their polytheism; followed by a comparative view of the objects of their idolatry: we then return to the worship and mythology of the ancient Britons; and this same subject is further pursued in the Appendix to the first volume, Nos. 1 and 2. This is either an indolent or an unskilful style of compilation.

Our knowledge of Druidism is chiefly derived from Strabo and the Roman historians; in particular, Cæsar and Pliny. The common opinion or tradition in Cæsar's time, was, that it originated in Britain, and was thence translated into Gaul. In order to reconcile this with the received supposition that this Island was peopled from the continent, we must conclude, either that the system was of indigenous growth among the Cimbric Britons, or that it was imported to this country immediately from the East. The striking similarity which may be traced between the Druids of Britain, and the Magi and Bramhuns of Persia and Hindustan, has been largely insisted on by the Author of the "*Indian Antiquities*." Brunker, in his *History of Philosophy*, remarks on the similarity of their fables to those of the Asiatics; a circumstance which he considers as confirming the conjecture that the Celtic nations arose from colonies which came from the northern regions of Asia, and that they brought with them the tenets which, in the remotest periods, had prevailed among the Persians, Scythians, and other Asiatic nations. Mr. Hughes cites from Enfield's translation of Brunker the following passage:

'Indeed, it is probable, that the Celts and Sarmatians in Europe, and the Medes and Persians in Asia, were derived from one common stock, the Asiatic Scythians: for, on the one hand, it appears that the name of Scythians, which remained in the northern part of Asia, passed over with the Scythian colonies into Europe, where it was gradually lost in those of Sarmatians and Germans; and on the other hand, authorities are not wanting to prove that the Medes and Persians were descended from the Scythians. (V. Herod. lib. v. c. 9. Ammianus Marcellinus, lib. xxxi. c. 23.)—The same religious rites which the Persians had received from the Scythians, were probably also embraced by the Celts, and by them transmitted, in their migrations, through Germany, Gaul, and Spain.'

Sir William Jones has remarked that the Goths and the Hindoos had originally the same language, gave the same appellations to the stars and planets, adored the same false deities, performed the same bloody sacrifices, and professed the same notions of rewards and punishments after death. In illustrating his favourite position, that Iran or Persia was the original centre of population, he adverts to Brunker's opinion, that the Goths or Scythians came from Persia, and cites the coincident conclusion of another writer who brings the Irish and the Old Britons from the borders of the Caspian. The *Saxon Chronicle* also brings the first inhabitants of Britain from Armenia.* 'That the first race of Persians and Indians, to whom we may add the Romans and Greeks, the Goths, and the old Egyptians or

* Possibly, a mistake for *Armorica*.

‘Ethiops, originally spoke the same language, and professed the same popular faith, is capable,’ adds Sir W. J., ‘in my humble opinion, of incontestible proof.’* All these nations he considers to be the descendants of Ham, and to be characteristically distinguished from the great Tartar family, the children of Japheth. Mr. Maurice, however, transports a tribe of Brambuns into the deserts of Grand Tartary, where he makes them mingle with Scythians, and then brings them, half Brambuns, half Scythians, to the Western regions of Europe, we are not certain whether by sea or overland, to become the immediate progenitors of the British Druids!! It is but fair to state that we quote his opinion at second-hand, as given by Mr. Hughes. Gale more plausibly contends that they received much of their philosophy, as well as their theology, from the Phenicians, with whose language the Welsh is affirmed by Bochart to have a considerable affinity. That the Phenicians, many ages before the Christian era, (it is supposed in the reigns of David and Solomon,) had planted colonies in the utmost regions of the known world, and in particular beyond the pillars of Hercules, is certain from the testimonies of Strabo and Herodotus; and there is the strongest reason to suppose that they had settlements both in Britain and Gaul. Strabo mentions that ‘Ceres and Proserpina were worshipped in or about Britany, according to the Samothracian, (i. e. Phenician) rites,’† The *Ked* and *Keridwen* of the Druids, accordingly, answer to Ceres, and *Lleuwy* to Proserpine. Bochart affirms, that their Taranis (Jupiter), Hesus (Bacchus, the ideal patriarch of the Cymry, and the same as Heus, and Hu-ysgwn, or Hu the mighty), Teutates or Teutath (Mercury), Belenus, or Belin (Apollo, the same as Plennyd), and Ogmios (Hercules), are all of Phenician original and offspring. To account for this close affinity, Mr. Hughes’s supposition, that ‘the Druids received a tincture of Phenician rites from the Punic colonies settled in Spain,’ is manifestly insufficient. There seems no reason for supposing that they derived them through any intermediate channel. That Ireland was known to the Phenicians, is pretty clear from its ancient name *Ibernæ*; i. e. in Phenician, ‘the utmost habitation;’ and if so, they must have been familiar with the south-western coast of Britain, to which they are supposed to have traded for tin. If the Cymry were really in possession of any part of Britain before the emigrations of the Celts and Belgæ of Gaul, and any dependence whatever can be placed on the vague oral traditions preserved in the Triads, that they came over the hazy ocean from the summer country, the most plausible conjecture would be, that they were a Phenician

* Works, Vol. I. 4to. p. 130.

† Gale’s Court of the Gentiles. B. I. c. 9.

colony. This would receive some colour from their being confined to Cornwall (the land of tin) and the western coast, along which they appear gradually to have spread to Cumberland. What is meant by Deffrobani is altogether uncertain; but its similarity to Tabrobana, supposed to be the ancient Ophir,* to which the Phenicians certainly traded, and the name of which is Phenician, is a striking coincidence, although we do not recollect to have seen it noticed. This hypothesis has the further advantage of harmonizing with the otherwise unaccountable fact, that Druidism was translated to Gaul from Britain, when Britain has hitherto been supposed to have received its first inhabitants from Gaul. It would also account for the existence of a kindred nation on the coast of France, the Brython of the Triads, who are represented as having sprung from the same primordial race as the Cymry, without having recourse to the violent hypothesis that Armorica was peopled by fugitive Britons in the fourth and fifth centuries, and that those emigrants were the progenitors of the Bretons. It is not denied, that such emigrations took place; but what led to the choice of Britany, rather than the mountain fastnesses of their own country, or the opposite coast of Ireland, must have been, that the Cymry there recognised a kindred nation, alike in manners as in language. Further, if the Welsh is really distinguished by a resemblance to the Hebrew, (for we would build with extreme caution on the philological opinions of native antiquaries,) the Phenician origin of the Cymry would supply the best explanation of so singular a circumstance.

If we had any inscriptions of sufficient antiquity to be referred to the Druidical age, they would at once determine the question. Cæsar states, that the Druids were acquainted with letters, but that they deemed it unlawful to make use of them in teaching the maxims of their philosophy, affirming that to commit things to writing was the way to forget them: what their true reason was, is obvious, as secrecy was most anxiously observed. In the reign of Henry VIII, a plate of tin inscribed with many letters, was found near Stonehenge; but they were 'in so strange a character, that neither Sir Thomas Elliot, a learned antiquary, nor Mr. Lilly, master of St. Paul's school, could make them out. This plate, to the great loss of the learned world, was soon after lost.' Diodorus Siculus, in the remarkable account he gives of the island of the Hyperboreans, which is very plausibly supposed to mean Albion, speaks of Greek inscriptions being found there, although he does not suppose them to have been the writing of natives. The passage is

* See Bochart as cited by Gale. B. I. c. 9.

highly curious, and we shall transcribe it at length as given by Mr. Hughes.

‘ Hecateus and others, who have written very wonderful descriptions, say, that an island, large as Sicily, is situate opposite to Gaul, and near the Arctic circle: it is inhabited by the Hyperboreans, who are so named as being placed beyond the gates of Boreas, or of the North. The soil is rich and very fruitful, the climate temperate, and two crops are reaped within the year. They worship Apollo with greater reverence than any of the other deities; they sing every day hymns to his praise; they ascribe to him the highest glories; they act as if all the inhabitants were his priests. They have dedicated to him a dark grove, and a celebrated temple of a circular form, decorated with many rich donations. A city is also devoted to him, the inhabitants of which are principally harpers, who chaunt to their favourite instrument, hymns to the Apollo of their temple, and celebrate his glorious actions. They speak their own peculiar language.

‘ Apollo comes once in nineteen years into the island: in this space of time the stars perform their revolutions, and return to the same point; hence the Greeks call this revolution THE GREAT YEAR. At the time of his re-appearance, they report that he plays upon the harp, and sings and dances through the night, from the vernal equinox to the Pleiades; self-pleased with the encomiums upon his successful enterprises. The sovereignty of the city and the care of the temple belong exclusively to the Boreades, the posterity of Boreas, who succeed to the throne in a regular descent from their great ancestor. From a remote and distant date, they have entertained a peculiar affection for the Greeks, and beyond the other parts of Greece, for Delos. Greeks have travelled to their island, and deposited among them various offerings, inscribed with Greek letters; and *Abaris*, in return, travelled into Greece, and renewed the ancient ties of friendship with the Delians.’ Vol. I. p. 257.

In striking coincidence with this account, it is observable, that the original name of Britain is said to have been *Y Vel Inys*, the island of Vel or Bel, the Syrian Apollo. The following account is cited from Toland’s History of Druidism.

“ On May eve, the Druids made prodigious fires on these Carns, which being every one in sight of some other, could not but afford a glorious shew over a whole nation. These fires were in honour of Beal or Bealan, latinized by the Romans into Belenus, by which name the Gauls and their colonies understood the sun; and therefore, to this hour, the first day of May is, by the Aboriginal Irish, called *la Beal-teine*, or *the day of Belin’s fire*. May-day is likewise called *la Beal-tine* by the Highlanders of Scotland. So it is in the Isle of Man. And in Armoric, a priest is still called Belec, or the servant of Bel, and the priesthood Belegieth.” Vol. I. p. 281.

A very ancient poem, which is described as full of the Druidic fire-worship and solar-worship, has for its title, *Cadar teyrn On*, or *the chair of the sovereign On*; the Amonian

title of the same Deity. The circular dances of the Druids are supposed to have been intended to represent the motions of the planets. Their proficiency in Astronomy is attested by Cæsar and Pomponius Mela. The former speaks of them as disputing and teaching their scholars many things respecting the stars and their motion.* In their veneration for the serpent as a sacred symbol, we have a further proof of their worship of the sun. The Druids were themselves called *Nadredd*, or snakes; and they wore suspended from their necks amulets called serpents' eggs, of which a particular account is given by Pliny. These amulets are still, it is said, talked of among old people, who call them *glain-neidyr* and *maen-glain*, adder-stones, or adder-heads. For much curious information on this subject and that of the Druidical rites, we refer our readers with pleasure to Mr. Hughes's first volume. We wonder that Mr. Bryant has not remarked on the coincidence between the Egyptian Ath-ur and the mythologic Arthur, or Uthyr of the Druids. 'Athyr,' he tells us, 'was a name conferred on places where the Amonians settled;' and 'one of the most ancient names of Rhodes' was Aithraia, or the Island of Athyr, so called from the worship of the sun.† Ath-ur was also 'one of the Egyptian months.' Mr. Hughes informs us that,

'There are many places which bear the name of Arthur, not the Arthur of history, but the mythologic Arthur, the representative of the Northern Bear, and referred to as one of the principal divinities of the Britons, as appears from several ancient poems. We have *Cadair Arthur*, one of the high peaks of the Brecknockshire mountains, called the beacons, or Monochdeny hills. There is *Coiten Arthur*, a famous Cromlech in Merionethshire; *Moel Arthur*, in Flintshire; *Carreg Carn March Arthur*, a fragment of some ancient monument; and the name of Arthur is given to a hill near the city of Edinburgh. Most things that were of enormous size appear to have been dignified with the name of Arthur, who was so called, most probably, on account of his great stature and martial prowess.'

Vol. I. p. 311.

We ourselves lay no stress on the coincidence; and yet, less plausible derivations have been pressed into the service of many a learned hypothesis.

Mr. Edward Williams, the celebrated Bard of Glamorgan, speaks of 'the patriarchal religion of Ancient Britain called 'Druidism;' an expression cited with great complacency by Mr. Richards, who, with a pardonable nationality of feeling, seems quite disposed to dispute their being either idolaters or polytheists. We suspect that his own mind was deeply tinctured with Druidism, if he was not, indeed, half a Druid. He gives

* Gale. Part II. B. i. c. 4. † Anal. of Anc. Mythol. Vol. I. p. 25.

his readers a long passage from a strange disquisition on the Pythagorean doctrine of transmigration, attributed to Soame Jenyns, and talks gravely of the acuteness and ingenuity displayed in 'the defence of that exploded tenet;' as if he himself were some way gone in the belief of it. All this is marvelously absurd. He bestows high praise, too, on a very superficial and erroneous account of Druidism contained in *Mavor's History of England*! In this it is affirmed, that one of the leading tenets of the Bardic Religion, was the belief in the existence of one Supreme Being, 'of whom they reasoned that 'he could not be material, and that what was not matter, must be 'God.*' But did Mr. Richards know no better than to confound the Bardic metaphysics with the Druidical worship? In the Aphoristic Triads, the Unity, self-existence, and infinite power and wisdom of the Deity are, Mr. Hughes remarks, 'so explicitly 'allowed, that such sentiments cannot with any consistency be 'ascribed to the Heathen Druids.' Mr. Richards himself allows that they 'held the *necessity* of human expiatory 'sacrifices,' although he attempts to palliate this concession by adding, that these sacrifices '*generally* consisted of malefactors.' And so they do at this day in Bengal and Ashantee: only, when criminals fall short, and their gods are hungry, they are under the '*necessity*,' like the Druids, of making up the proper number with innocent persons. These barbarous rites were so common among all heathen nations, that it is scarcely necessary to remark on the probability that the Britons derived theirs from the worship of the Phenician Moloch. Mr. Richards's remark on 'religious 'wars,' would have been very proper had he not been so inconsiderate as to represent the cases as parallel. The Gaulish Druids 'were so resolutely addicted to this dreadful superstition, 'that, although prohibited by the Emperor Tiberius, they continued to adhere to the same practice even in the time of Pliny, 'in the reign of Trajan.' The Helio-arkite worship of the ancient Britons, is treated by Mr. Hughes at considerable length, but without any parade of learning. Unlike many compilers who enter into other men's labours, and grace their margins with stolen references from books they never saw, (*sic vos non vobis mellificatis apes*,) he is scrupulous in referring to the authors which he has chiefly followed, namely, Bryant, Faber, Maurice, and Davies.

Here for the sake of our readers, not less than for our own, we must suspend our antiquarian lucubrations. From druids

* The speculations of the Hindoo theists are strikingly similar. The language of the Vedas is, that 'all spirit is God'—a metaphysical existence without attributes.

and bards to saints, and bishops, and Welsh Nonconformists, Pelagius and Vavasor Powell, is a transition too violent to be endured; and as so wide a chasm occurs between them in ancient British History, we hope that it will be allowed us to treat of them in a separate Number. In the mean-time, those of our readers who are given to poetry, may, possibly, be pleased with the following fragment of an unpublished poem, in which an elegant use has been made of the Druidical mythology. *Δεῦς vel Quercus loquitur.*

‘ Ere yet on Cambria’s mountains hoar
Had burst the thundering battle-roar,
Ere War his murderous lance had hurled,
Or Slaughter’s crimson flag unfurled,
Amid the forests wild and rude
Of Mona’s caverned solitude,
In deep recess of solemn shade,
By ages more majestic made,
Invisible to unhallowed eye,
Was darkly throned my awful ancestry.

‘ And he, the monarch of the wood
In might magnificent that stood,
Embosomed in the gloom profound,
And stretched his giant arms around,
Was guarded by enchantments high,
And spells of wizard potency.
For whilom in his knotty cell
Did Taranis sublimely dwell,
And oft, in pealing whirlwinds, spoke
His mandates from the charmed oak.
There would the star-read Druids haunt,
And azure-vested Bards would chaunt
Of sage Tradition’s ancient lore,
And Arthur’s might, and deeds of yore.
Or softly harping to the skies,
They hymned their mystic harmonies,
Holding in necromantic trance
The viewless spirits of the air,—
Or slowly wove the solemn dance
In measured orbits circling there.
Andraste, silver-crowned queen,
In sceptered state and courtly sheen,
Her radiant car would oft suspend
And to the secret shades descend;
Or sphered in midnight’s spectred sky,
Beneath the bright-starred canopy,
Would listen to their choral minstrelsy.
The time-proved seers, a stately band,
With oaken wreath and gifted wand,

And amulet inched in gold,
 Their hidden orgies there would hold;
 And, their stone-altars duly dight
 With leaves that flamed brave and bright,
 Till star-set, wrought in magic guise,
 And held their moonly mysteries.

' Then, through Mona's sunless caves,
 Delving to the Ocean-waves,
 Wound in many a wildered maze
 The storied chords of minstrel lays.
 Other music heard she none,
 Other echo breathed not one.
 Till that fell hour of deadly fame
 When the Roman Eagle came,
 And fiercely rushing on her prey,
 Scared the Dove of Peace away.
 Then the druid-temples wild
 Of stones by mighty Ogmios piled,
 Or reared by incantation high,
 And balanced true by witchery,
 Were all profaned by warring bands;
 And spoiled by sacrilegious hands,
 Mona's unsunned groves were rent:
 Mona poured her loud lament,
 As the vengeful flames made way
 For the unwelcome light of day,
 Through paths for ages veiled from sight,
 While Murder, by the lurid light,
 Pursued his prey; unmoved his breast
 By harp of power, by snow-white vest,
 By patriarch form, by spell or prayer;—
 On their own altars bleeding there,
 The Nadredd sage, the gifted Seers
 Amid the ruins flaming round,
 The honours of a thousand years,
 A sylvan burial found.'

* * * * *

Art. III. *The Chronology of our Saviour's Life*, or an Inquiry into the true Time of the Birth, Baptism, and Crucifixion of Jesus Christ. By the Rev. C. Benson, M.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. 343. Price 6s. Cambridge University Press.

THE precise time of a person's birth or death who should be acknowledged as the author of a new system of moral or religious doctrines, would seem to be of little or no importance to his followers, who could not be supposed to connect their reception of the tenets taught by him, with satisfactory proof of the true date of his birth, or of the time of his decease. It would

never occur to them, to reject the doctrine which they had received, as being, in the absence of all evidence to prove those eras, unworthy of their regard. In what year Plato or Aristotle was born, would but little concern a disciple of the Academy or of the Lyceum. The value of the instruction is wholly independent of the age of the master; and a candidate for admission would never think of including in his previous inquiries, circumstances which had no relation to the qualifications of his instructor. If we had no means of obtaining a correct arrangement of the events in the life of Plato; or if the chronology of any memoirs of Socrates was so perplexed as to present only some incidents in connected order and agreement of time, while others might seem to exclude all arrangement and accurate date; the truth or importance of their doctrines would not be in the least involved in the chronological discussions. They would still be the doctrines of Plato, or the doctrines of Socrates, and would claim our attention on grounds irrespective of any nicety of date in the biography of their founders. And so, we presume, is the chronology of the Gospels immaterial to the consideration of the Christian doctrine. The precise time of the birth and death of the Jewish Legislator, it might be difficult to determine; but the credibility of the Mosaic records is not therefore invalidated. And in like manner is the evangelical doctrine worthy of confidence, though we may not be able successfully to harmonise the facts which the written Gospels comprise, or to affix to every circumstance which they detail, its exact date. The resurrection of Christ is established by proof the most ample and complete, though there may be some incidents in the several narratives of that great fact of the Christian religion, which may not satisfactorily be adjusted to other particulars which they contain.

But, though the true time of the birth of Christ, the term of the duration of his ministry, and the date of his death may not be essential to the determination of the question, *Is Christianity a Divine religion?* yet, these several eras are not unimportant: they have their place among the subordinate particulars which a careful investigator of the Gospels will not overlook. They are circumstances of which a Christian advocate will be ready to avail himself of every means of elucidation, in order that he may be prepared to obviate difficulties which may occur to the humble and sincere inquirer, and the removal of which may be an essential service rendered to persons whose habits or whose prejudices allow them to be satisfied with nothing short of the most rigid scrutiny into all the subjects which they undertake to examine. And though the result of the most minute and careful examination of these and similar questions, may not be perfectly satisfactory, though the means of a complete adjustment

of apparent disagreements may not be obtained, it will be a consequence not lightly to be estimated, if the investigation should make it evident, that the difficulties are perplexing, only because our information on the subjects to which they relate is imperfect; that they form part of a case, the reception of which, in its entire character, is in strict accordance with the obligations of reason, and in exact harmony with the best established and most approveable maxims of human practice. Such a result will never fail to attend a sober and impartial examination of the New Testament records. Let the investigation of their contents be of this character, and then, let it be full and scrupulous, and have its course.

The chronology of the life of Christ is a question of some importance in regard to the integrity of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, the statements of the former Evangelist being represented by some writers as not reconcileable to those of the latter. The conclusion which they would establish on a comparison of these sacred Biographers, would require us to discard the preliminary chapters of at least Matthew's Gospel; and, in the full spirit and letter of their demand, this would be but one half of the sacrifice: the initial chapters of Luke must likewise be surrendered. It is quite clear, that, according to the narrative of the Evangelist Matthew, the birth of Christ preceded the death of Herod the Great; and if it were indubitable fact, that Herod was not then living, that his death was antecedent to the birth of Jesus, it would be impossible to admit the authenticity of the narrative. An examination, therefore, of the chronology of the Gospels, is necessary to the determination of the question of authenticity as applied to at least the initial chapters of the first Gospel.

Now, the genuineness of these portions of the New Testament is supported by the customary proofs on which depends the genuineness of its incontrovertible books: the evidence of manuscripts and versions in their favour is ample and complete; and the testimony of early writers is equally decisive. Unless, therefore, we abandon the acknowledged tests of genuine Scripture, we must receive as integral parts of Matthew's Gospel, the first and second chapters of the book which bears his name. And with this evidence in support of their claims, we cannot, we apprehend, be at liberty to expunge them from the place which they hold in the Christian records, unless we can challenge to ourselves the most perfect acquaintance with the whole of the circumstances which they comprise, and are fully prepared to shew, that they want the characters of truth, and are at variance with facts the reality of which is indisputable. It will not be reckoned sufficient to warrant their rejection, that difficulties of the strongest kind exist in those chapters, and that every at-

tempt to remove them by explanation has hitherto failed. We must be fully assured that we possess the whole of the means necessary for satisfactory solution, and that to these means, correctly employed, the difficulties will not yield, before we permit ourselves to allege the charge of spuriousness against these or any other passages of Scripture.

The History of Josephus is the principal authority with which the details of the Evangelists are compared, and the standard by which their accuracy in the notes of time inserted in their Gospels, is determined. The chronology of Josephus, however, is not easily to be settled. Whoever will take the pains of proceeding through his *Antiquities* and the *Books of the Jewish Wars*, will find it not a little perplexing to obtain a series of dates regular and satisfactory for the events which he relates. The time of Herod's death is, in more than one instance, given in reference to other memorable eras in his history and reign; but the exact period of his decease, is not definitely stated: it is a question of difficult solution, and different writers have come to widely varying conclusions. Had Josephus given us the exact date of Herod's birth, the time of his decease might be ascertained with considerable pretensions to accuracy. But not only are we unable to obtain this assistance directly, but we are strangely perplexed in our perusal of the passages on which our calculations are founded. The difficulty in attempting to ascertain the date of Herod's birth, Mr. Benson remarks,

'is rendered insurmountable by a false reading in the passage of Josephus upon which our conclusions depend. In one place, Josephus informs us that Herod was constituted Governor of Galilee when very young, and in another, he limits his expression by stating that he was then about 15 years of age. Now it is universally allowed, that Herod was appointed Governor of Galilee in the Consulship of Calvinus and Vatinius U. C. 707. $U. C. 707 - 15 = 692$ and $692 + 69$ (age of Herod at his death) $= 761$. He was of course, therefore, according to this computation, born about the 692nd, and died about the 761st year of Rome, 10 years later than we should be led to suppose by every other mode of calculation. To remove this discrepancy, it has been conjectured that we ought to read 25 instead of 15 years in the preceding passage of Josephus, and thus fix the birth and death of Herod 10 years earlier than before; his birth about U. C. 682, his death U. C. 751. This new reading may be defended by many irresistible computations.' p. 17.

But, whatever support may be obtained for the new reading from such computations, it is, we apprehend, quite obvious, that the proposed emendation can be admitted only as extreme violence is offered to the text of Josephus. The new reading is decidedly at variance with manuscript authority; and the passages which directly refer to the case, are clearly in favour of

the inferior number of years. 'Antipater,' says the Jewish Historian, 'appointed his son Herod to be Governor of Galilee—

‘*ἦν πανταπασιν ὅτι, εἰ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἐγγενὲς μόνον ἔην. Βλαπτὴ δὲ οὐδὲν ἦν οὐτε, ἀλλ’ ὡς τὸ φρονήματι γενναῖος ὁ νεανίας ἀφορμὴν εὐρίσκει παρὰ χεῖρα πρὸς τὴν δόξαν τῆς ἀρετῆς*—he being at that time a very young man, for he had not yet passed his sixteenth year. His youth, however, was no disadvantage to him, for, being of an enterprising genius, he soon found an occasion of signaling his valour.’

Now, this description is evidently more appropriate as applying to a spirited and daring youth of fifteen, than to a person of twenty-five years of age: the latter number can by no means be considered as requiring an apologetical representation like that which Josephus has given. Let *εἰ* be substituted for *εἰ* in the foregoing quotation, namely 25 for 15, and the force and propriety of the expressions are no longer to be perceived.

Again, as to the difficulty of settling the chronology of Josephus. Three instances occur of his mentioning the duration of Archelaus's reign; two of these are in agreement with each other, but the third of them is at variance with the others. In the *Antiq. Jud.* it is stated, that Archelaus was accused before Augustus in the tenth year of his government—*δεκάτῃ δὲ ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς*. (Lib. xvii. 15.) In the Books of the Jewish War, the exile of Archelaus is said to have happened in the ninth year of his reign—*ἔτει τῆς ἀρχῆς ἑνιάτῃ*. (Lib. ii. 6.) But, in the memoirs of his own life, Josephus informs us, that his father was born in the tenth year of the reign of Archelaus—*Βασιλευσόντος Ἀρχελαῶντος δεκάτον*. (*Vita in initio*.) Mr. Benson has taken some pains to reconcile these statements, but, we fear, without building his conclusions on solid premises. He is not correct in stating, that 'it will generally be found, that when Josephus in one of his histories speaks of an event having taken place, say thirty-five years after a former one, in his other he either speaks of it as having taken place in the thirty-fifth or thirty-sixth year after that former one.' No such general custom is observed by him. Nor, admitting the difference of usage in the Roman and Jewish regal dates, is the difficulty obviated which attends the preceding computations. It is not plain, that these calculations may be clearly reconciled to each other on the supposition 'that Josephus uses the Jewish mode of reckoning when he says that Archelaus was banished in the *tenth*, and the Roman when he says that he was banished in the *ninth* year of his reign.' In providing this solution, Mr. Benson has overlooked a circumstance which is material in the discussion of the difficulty. Both in the *Antiq. Jud.* and in the *Bello. Jud.* it is stated by Josephus, that Archelaus, a short time before he was cited to Rome,

dreamed that he beheld a number of ears of corn, ripe and full, and a number of oxen which devoured them. In the *Antiquities*, the number of the ears of corn is *ten*; in the *Books of the Jewish War*, the number is *nine*. And in the interpretation of the dream by Simon, the *ten* ears are, in the one place, explained as meaning ten years which Archelaus should reign, and the *nine* ears are, in the other place, said to signify nine years which he should reign.* Now, the dream was one and the same, and therefore, either nine or ten might be the number of ears seen by Archelaus; but not both numbers: which soever of the two accounts we assume as the correct one, the other, therefore, is not entitled to confidence, as the accounts are evidently inconsistent. For if the king saw nine ears of corn, Simon never could interpret them as denoting ten years or eight years; and in the explanation of the dream, the Roman mode of computation had no place. We notice these passages of Josephus for the purpose of shewing,—and this, we think, they do shew,—that the accounts of Josephus are themselves not always the most lucid, and that his chronological notes are uncertain and perplexing. Josephus, however, is the only author from whom much assistance is to be obtained in our attempts to harmonise the events of the Jewish history with the facts recorded by the Evangelists which belong to the political relations of Judea. In the agreements of the Historian with the sacred writers, we shall receive confirmations of their integrity. But in those cases in which the accounts of Josephus themselves are intricate and doubtful, the credibility of the Evangelists is not to be considered as being in the smallest degree in peril, because the results of comparison may perplex us; any more than it would be proper to impeach the veracity of the former, on the ground that the representations of the latter, differing apparently from his details, are intelligible and substantial. The result, we are fully persuaded, of the most rigorous comparison of the evangelical documents with Josephus, and with other profane annalists and memorialists, would be such as would establish their credibility. But it is not to be expected, that the Evangelists, writing for purposes very different from those which furnished to secular historians the motives of their writing, should have directed their minds even to the same circumstances precisely in the same way. It is not in Josephus, as we have already said, that a nice and invariable standard of chronology is to be found, adapted to the Gospel History.

In attempting to settle the chronology of the Gospels, the time of Herod's death is the first and principal date which the several writers who have engaged in the discussion, have undertaken to examine and fix. The only method which seems to be available

* See *Antiq. Jud.* xviii. 15. *Bello. Jud.* ii. 6.

for this purpose, is, to compare the duration of Herod's reign with the time of its commencement; and the only data from which the calculations necessary for this comparison can proceed, are, notes of time furnished by Josephus, who is the sole authority by which we can be guided on the subject. That Historian states, that Herod began his reign, having received from the Roman Senate, through the influence of Anthony, the kingdom of Judea, in the 185th Olympiad, when C. D. Calvinus for the second time, and C. A. Pollio for the first time, were Consuls at Rome. This consulship is, on the authority of Pagi and others, assumed as beginning on the 1st of January, and ending on the 31st of December of the year 4674 Julian Period. Writers whose conclusions considerably vary, are agreed in the admission of this date, which is so indefinite as to require the aid of other computations before the particular season of Herod's advancement can be fixed. The circumstances which occurred between the battle of Philippi and the nomination of Herod, are adduced by Mr. Benson as the reasons which require the commencement of Herod's reign to be assigned to the *latter* half of the 4674th year of the Julian Period.

* The battle of Philippi was fought in the October of the 4672d year of the Julian Period. After that battle Anthony went into Asia, and there conferred upon Herod and Phasael the title and authority of tetrarchs of Judea.^k We may conceive, therefore, that this appointment took place in the latter part,^l say December, J.P. 4672. In the *second* year after this event, Pacorus the Parthian invaded and took possession of Syria. Dec. 4672 + 1 = Dec. 4673, which is therefore the *earliest* date that can be assigned for this invasion of Syria; but it most probably took place early in the Spring of J.P. 4674, the time universally chosen by the ancients for the commencement of their military operations.

* After the pentecost^m which immediately followed that invasion, that is, after the pentecost on the 9th of Juneⁿ J.P. 4674, Herod fled from Jerusalem to Rome, where he was appointed King of Judea by the Senate; and since we have already seen from Josephus that his appointment to that dignity took place *in* the year J.P. 4674, it is evident that the commencement of Herod's reign must be dated from some period between the 9th of June and 31st of December of that year. Various other circumstances are mentioned which would enable us to contract these limits still further, and perhaps to fix with precision the commencement of Herod's reign to the month of *July* J.P. 4674. But as the more extended period which I have stated above will be found sufficiently accurate for all the purposes of the

^k Antiq. lib. xiv. cap. 22, 23. compared with de Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 11.

^l Lamy Appar. Chron. Part I. cap. v. § 3.

^m Antiq. Jud. lib. xiv. cap. 24. p. 495. A and B.

ⁿ Lamy App. Chron. Part I. cap. vi. p. 31.

present inquiry, I should be unwilling to detain, and perhaps confound the reader by a more particular discussion.' pp. 19, 20.

Josephus is express in stating that, in the *second* year, Pacorus invaded Syria; but it is not easy to understand how the event from which he dates the irruption of the Parthians can be, the appointment of Herod and Phasael to be tetrarchs. The period between October and the conclusion of December 4672 is, it would evidently seem, too short to admit of the occurrences which Josephus has described as taking place between the battle of Philippi and the appointment of Herod and Phasael. Some days would elapse before the armies broke up from Philippi; and the Jewish Historian, in agreement with the Roman writers, informs us that, after the battle of Philippi, Anthony marched into Asia, and was met in Bithynia by a deputation from the Jews of Jerusalem, complaining of the conduct of Phasael and Herod in usurping the government. Anthony proceeded to Ephesus, where he was attended by the ambassadors of Hyrcanus, who came to request the release of certain Jewish prisoners. On Anthony's going toward Syria, whither he next directed his march, he received Cleopatra in Cilicia, and was again waited upon by Jewish deputies of rank charged with accusations against Phasael and Herod. At Daphne near Antioch, he heard the cause, and deciding in favour of the brothers, appointed them to be tetrarchs. Now, that such extensive countries could be traversed in the manner in which Anthony would pass through them, and such scenes of pleasure and of business take place in the space of less than three months, probably in not more than two, is scarcely credible. The appointment of Herod, then, would seem to be fixed at too early a period in being determined to December J.P. 4672: it could scarcely have taken place before the Spring of 4673. The *second* year, therefore, we would consider as taking date from the battle of Philippi; and this would fix the invasion of Pacorus in the Spring of 4674, in agreement with Mr. Benson's period.

'The commencement of Herod's reign then is to be dated from the summer or the autumn of J.P. 4674; and he reigned according to Josephus thirty-seven years after he was declared King by the Senate of Rome, that is, he did not reign less than thirty-six, nor more than thirty-eight years.

'July J.P. 4674, the *earliest* commencement of Herod's reign, + 36 years its *shortest* duration = July J.P. 4710. Dec. J.P. 4674, the *latest* commencement of his reign, + 38 years, its *longest* duration = Dec. J.P. 4712. The month of Dec. J.P. 4712 is therefore the *latest* period to which we can assign the death of Herod, and July J.P. 4710 the *earliest* by the same method of computation.' p. 21.

But the death of Herod is generally admitted as having taken place *previously* to July 4710 of the Julian period. Mann, in

the first of his Two Chronological Dissertations, fixes the time of it to a period about nine or ten days after the eclipse which happened on the 13th of March J.P. 4710, about three weeks before the Passover, which fell that year on the 10th (11th Lamy) of April, that is, about the 21st of March J.P. 4710. Lardner's opinion coincides with that of Mann generally; for, though he is not so minute in his reckoning, nor so positive in his judgment, he evidently gives his support to that calculation which assigns the death of Herod to a date between the 13th of March and the Passover J.P. 4710.* Mr. Benson does not think the arguments which Lardner has alleged in support of the early date of Herod's death, conclusive. They are certainly strong, but not incontrovertible. They are grounded on the great improbability that, considering the diseased state of Herod at the time of the execution of the Rabbis on the 13th of March, he should survive a year after that time,—and on the assumption, that between the 13th of March and the 11th of April, there is a sufficient space of time for all the circumstances which Josephus has related between the execution of the Rabbis and the coming of Archelaus to Jerusalem at the Passover. On the other hand, Mr. Benson is of opinion, that there is *not* a sufficiency of time for the circumstances included in Josephus's history of the events which occurred between those dates. There is great difficulty in the determination of this point. It might seem on the first reading of Josephus's 17th chapter of the Antiquities, that the supposition of Herod's living twelve months after the execution of the Rabbis, is highly improbable. The execution of the Rabbis is considered on all sides as having taken place on the 13th of March J. P. 4710; and Herod was then living. The Passover of that year is computed to have fallen on the 11th of April; and it is certain that Herod died not long before some Passover. His disease had evidently made some progress before the execution of the Rabbis. Did his last illness then continue for so long a time as twelve months? It is scarcely credible that its duration was for so considerable a period. Mr. Benson is perhaps not perfectly correct in his observations on the disease of Herod. 'It was not,' he says, 'till *after* the ambassadors were sent off' to Rome on the affairs of Antipater, 'that Herod's distemper seized him *at all*:' he adds, that Josephus himself expressly states, 'that the complaints of Herod did not assume a serious aspect, or seize upon his *whole body*, 'until *after* the execution of the Rabbis,' and that consequently, his disease could *not* 'have made so great a progress *before* that time.' But it is clear, that the distemper of Herod had

* Lardner's Works, p. 425 and cxxxix. Vol. 1. Ed. 1788.

made considerable progress *before* the execution of the Rabbis : they engaged in their enterprise of removing the golden eagle, on the understanding that Herod's disease was then incurable—*τυραννικὸν τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν νόσον δεξαμένην ἀπορροῦσθαι* : and Mr. Benson would seem to affirm more than is supported by the expressions of Josephus in describing the disease of Herod in its last stage, when he represents that Historian as positively stating that the complaints of the king did not assume a serious aspect until *after* the execution of the Rabbis. In his remarks on the time probably consumed in the prosecution of the affair relative to Antipater by Herod's ambassadors at Rome, and on the mourning for the Rabbis at the Passover, Mr. Benson is more successful. And if the careful study of Josephus should be found to present circumstances in number and of consequence that would require more time than the twenty-eight days which occurred between the 13th of March and the 11th of April J. P. 4710, then, the death of Herod could not have happened sooner than a short time previous to the Passover of the following year. The circumstances are stated by Mr. Benson, and the time which they may be supposed to require, is carefully computed. Twenty-eight days, he concludes to be quite too narrow a space to comprise them all, and therefore, assuming the correctness of the examination, he considers the opinion of Lardner, that Herod died on the 11th of April 4710, to be positively refuted, and fixes the death of Herod in the Spring of J. P. 4711. As there are several other notices of time relative to the reign of Herod in Josephus, we should have been glad if Mr. Benson had included them in his computations, and stated the result. They would, we believe, be found rather in favour of the date which Lardner seems to prefer. But the dates which Josephus supplies in this case are, it must be acknowledged, not readily to be adjusted.

In Chapter the third, the Author inquires into the probable date of Christ's birth. Proceeding on the correctness of the arguments by which he has fixed the decease of Herod at some part of the interval between the 13th of March J. P. 4710, and the Passover J. P. 4711, and not finding any *direct* information in the Gospels as to the year or period of the year in which Jesus was born, he considers, 1. How long the birth of Christ *must* necessarily have preceded the death of Herod ; 2. How long it *may* probably have preceded it ; and 3. Whether this *probable* date corresponds with the other chronological marks in the New Testament. With regard to the first of these subjects of examination, the arrival of the Magi in Jerusalem is the most important circumstance which occurs in the narrative. Jesus was then born, and Herod was yet alive. The time between the birth of Christ and the arrival of the Magi, and the time of this

latter event compared with the time of Herod's death, are, therefore, the leading particulars in this part of the discussion. In his arrangement and arguments relative to these several topics, Mr. Benson is ingenious and lucid; but his reasonings are not quite satisfactory, and the basis on which he has constructed some of them, is insufficient for their support. In examining the point, How long the visit of the Magi preceded the death of Herod, the actions of Herod at the time, as they are stated in the Gospel, are the only data of which an inquirer can avail himself; and on these Mr. Benson assumes, that when the Magi arrived, Herod was in a perfect state of health both as to body and mind. This may be an allowable presumption; it is scarcely better, however, than pure hypothesis, since it would be difficult to shew why all the actions recorded of Herod in the narrative of Matthew, might not have taken place in other circumstances than those of perfect health. Such an argument as the following, is clearly unsound.

‘When Josephus relates the execution of the Rabbis, he makes several allusions to the feebleness of the king, and carefully states the exertion and difficulty it required for him to attend the council, examine into the sedition, and pronounce the condemnation of the guilty. The narrative of St. Matthew on the contrary proceeds with uninterrupted continuity, and contains no intimation which could impress the mind of the reader with the idea that Herod was otherwise than he had ever been; no symptom of weakness, no phrase to mark the writer's astonishment and horror, when relating the massacre of Bethlehem, that though its perpetrator was (to use the language of Josephus upon a similar occasion) *μελαγχολῶν ἤδη καὶ μονοτονχὶ αὐτῷ τὶ τῷ θανάτῳ ἀπειλῶν, προέκοψεν εἰς ἐπιβουλὴν ἀδιμίτου πραξίως.** Such a remark would have been natural in the mouth of the Evangelist, had Herod at that time been in a declining state. But he has not said any thing at all like it, and hence it would appear highly probable that Herod's last illness had not made that progress when the Magi arrived, which we learn from Josephus that it had made at the time of the execution of the Rabbis, on the 13th of March, J. P. 4710. The Magi, therefore, had arrived before that period.’ pp. 57, 58.

Now, no reasoning can be more erroneous than that which is here employed to shew, that the illness of Herod had not made the progress noticed, because the Evangelist has not reprobated the cruelty of the Jewish king. Nothing is more admirable in the Evangelists, than their entire abstinence from invective. Such a remark as that which Mr. Benson has quoted from Josephus, would have been most unnatural in the mouth of the Evangelist. Had Matthew remarked in respect to the massacre of Bethlehem, as Josephus does in reference to the medi-

* De Bell. Jud. lib. i. cap. 21. p. 773.

tated sacrifice of the Jews in the Hippodrome, that Herod, 'now in a dying condition and sinking under a most loathsome disease, formed a design of great atrocity,' it would have been not only contrary to a manner of writing from which he never deviates, and therefore unnatural; but it would have been in violation of that spirit of forbearance which is one of the appropriate excellencies of the Gospels, and not the least of the many indirect evidences of their authenticity. The murder of John the Baptist was a most atrocious deed; yet the Evangelists who have noticed it, put it on record without a single exclamation of reproach.

We agree with Mr. Benson, that the time into which Herod so diligently inquired, was not the time of Christ's birth, which he could not have learned from the Magi, who were then prosecuting their journey to Bethlehem, but, the time of the first appearance of the star to those sages, which they might have seen for a considerable time before the birth of Christ and their own departure for Judea; and that, therefore, Herod's order for the destruction of the infants might include children of two years and under, though Jesus were born but a short time before the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem. And we think with him, that the known character of Herod warrants our belief of the fact of the massacre related by Matthew: the cruelty at Bethlehem, how useless or how wanton soever, is not incredible. Mr. Benson, too, has made it probable, that the presentation in the Temple took place between the arrival of the Magi at Jerusalem and their arrival at Bethlehem; but we cannot perceive any absurdity in the belief, that the predictions and benedictions pronounced in the Temple at the presentation of Jesus were unknown to Herod. The principal circumstances included in the discussions of this chapter, are thus arranged by Mr. Benson.

'A little before the presentation of Jesus, the Magi arrived at Jerusalem in special search for the new-born King of the Jews. Herod, struck with the motive of their mission, and its coincidence with the general expectation then entertained of the coming of the Messiah, enquires of the learned and religious in what place the Messiah should be born. Having ascertained this point, he next enquires of the Magi the probable time of his birth as deducible from the appearance of the star, (an enquiry quite needless if he was already acquainted with the presentation,) and for this purpose he privately and particularly examines them, and commands them, when they had found the object of their search, to return and give him information. In the mean time, perhaps during the very period of this interview, Joseph brings his wife for purification, and his son for presentation to the temple, and then returns to Bethlehem, a distance of but six miles. Having received in the evening the offerings of the Magi, he is warned to fly from Herod, and sets off with his family for Egypt by night. In the morning, Herod, not finding the Magi return,

in order completely to relieve his suspicions, sends forth his emissaries to slay every child within the sphere of his suspicions, both as to place and time. But learning afterwards, from the report made to him relative to the transactions which on the preceding day had attended the presentation of Jesus, that *he* was the object of whom he was afraid, and from the names of the children destroyed, that he had not been cut off in the general massacre, he continued seeking the child's life to the very day of his death. (Matth. ii. 20.)' pp. 79, 80.

Mr. Benson supposes that the massacre of Bethlehem preceded, not only the execution of the Rabbis, but the very commencement of Herod's illness; because the last disease of Herod was attributed, as Josephus states, to the visitation of his crimes by the justice of God, and because he imagines, that it is difficult for any one who believes the Gospel, to suppose that so signal a cruelty had not a considerable share in the formation of that opinion. He therefore assigns the arrival of the Magi to a date preceding the commencement of Herod's illness, which may be referred to the 13th of February J. P. 4710. The presentation in the Temple took place on the forty-first day after the birth of Jesus: reckoning, therefore, forty days back from the time when the Magi are supposed to have arrived at Jerusalem, on or before the 13th of February, the birth of Jesus is to be fixed either on or *before* the 3d of January, J. P. 4710; that is, he *must* have been born at least one year before the death of Herod, supposing him to have died about the beginning of J. P. 4711. Such are the Author's conclusions; but it is obvious to remark, that the premises from which they are deduced, are founded on reasonings which must be considered as somewhat precarious in their nature. From other calculations, Mr. Benson endeavours to shew, that the month of April or May, J. P. 4709, may with probability be assigned as the time of Christ's birth. In this computation, he rejects the hypotheses of Mann and others, and is guided by the traditions of antiquity.

The Fourth Chapter of his work contains a review of the difficulties attending the probable date of the birth of Christ as fixed to the Spring of J. P. 4709; that is, about two years before the death of Herod; and the four sections into which it is divided, comprise considerations on the Taxing mentioned by Luke, Chap. ii. verses 1 and 2, negative and affirmative. This is a most difficult and perplexing subject of discussion. The resources of criticism have been tried, we might say almost to exhaustion, and yet, the passage Luke, Chap. ii. verses 1 and 2, presents to a Biblical critic a trial of his strength. In the construction and interpretation of the sentence—*Αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ὑπομενουστος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηνίου*, there is, says Valckenar, '*nodus, qui Homines literatos a renatis literis valde habuit exercitatos, quique difficulter solvi, secari facile poterit*.'

and those persons who have perused the accumulated opinions of expositors on the text, will perhaps judge with that distinguished Scholar, '*Si quis pleraque legerit ad h. l. collata, ab illa lectione incertior redibit quam accesserat.*' The reading of the Common Version—"This taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria," does seem the obvious and direct sense of the words; but Cyrenius did not enter upon the government of Syria before J. P. 4720; and a taxing made in the year of Christ's birth must, 'therefore, have been made several years before Cyrenius was governor of Syria. To remove the historical difficulty, such renderings of the passage have been proposed as, 'in strict consistency with the rules of grammar and the genius of the Greek language, are altogether inadmissible.' After passing this sentence upon all the attempts of his predecessors, Mr. Benson endeavours to make out a construction and meaning which, we fear, will only add one more to the numerous instances of the ingenious, but unsuccessful application of criticism to this vexatious passage.

'Amongst the various instances brought forward to prove that *πρῶτος* is sometimes taken in a sense of priority, is the following from 2 Sam. xix. 43. *πρωτοτοκος ἐγὼ Ἦσν.* Now if there is any part of the verse in question in which *ἢ* might naturally be conceived to have been omitted, and to which if it be restored, the construction will be easy, and the meaning unexceptionable, it will at least be a probable argument for supplying it in that place, and supposing it to have been inadvertently left out by some careless transcriber. But it is evident that nothing could be more easy than the omission of the particle *ἢ* between *ἐγενετο* and *πνευματοευοντος*, because the latter word beginning with the same letter, the eye of the copyist might inadvertently glide from the one to the other, without his ever stopping to consider the meaning of what he wrote: nay, had he even paid the deepest attention to the sense of his author, he might nevertheless, with the very best intentions, have purposely made the alteration; for there is no necessity for supposing a transcriber to be perfectly acquainted with the history of the period to which the work he was copying related. Perceiving, therefore, that the expression was peculiar and uncommon, and perhaps considering from this peculiarity that it was erroneous,—perceiving also that by the omission of the single letter *ἢ* a sense perfectly plain and obvious would be obtained,—and considering that, as the following word began with the same letter *π*, it might probably have been added by the former transcriber,—perceiving and considering, I say, all these things, it is by no means unnatural to suppose, that some early copyist intentionally omitted the particle to avoid the peculiarity. These arguments will acquire additional force if we adopt the reading of the Cambridge manuscript. In that M.S. the arrangement of the words is this:—*αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ ἐγενετο πρώτη ἡγεμονίας, &c. &c.*—where every one must perceive that *πρῶτη* ending, and *πνευματοευοντος* beginning with an *π*, had a third *ἢ* been inserted between these two, nothing could have been more easy than for a careless

transcriber to have passed it unobserved, or for an ignorant or conceited one to have considered it an interpolation. Having now proposed one of the slightest possible alterations, and, slight as it is, having produced several circumstances which render it not altogether incredible, I shall next proceed to shew, that, presuming it to be as just as it is necessary, it fully resolves every doubt, and gives to the passage a sense easy and unembarrassed—*αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο ἢ (ἀπογραφὴ ἢ ἐγένετο) ἡγεμονίοντος τῆς Συρίας Κυρηναίου.*—"This taxing took place before that which took place when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." pp. 128—130.

This proposed correction is liable to several objections. In the first place, it is purely conjectural. Next, it is not so evident as Mr. Benson imagines, that the passage in Luke is in sufficient conformity, both in construction and meaning, to the passage in 2 Sam. to be justified by the resemblance: the ordinal in the compound *πρωτοτοκος* is there used in its common acceptance, and is the predicate of the proposition, of which *γυνή* or *σὺ* is the subject. An ellipsis of *ἐγένετο* might be allowed, perhaps; but the ellipsis which Mr. B. would supply, is not, we apprehend, to be admitted. The insertion of the *ἢ* would require the insertion of the word which it connects with the preceding noun, and therefore, the addition of *ἢ* to the text, is not all that is necessary to the grammatical form of the sentence. The reading of the Codex Bezae is not correctly given by Mr. Benson, but the amendment which he suggests, founded on the text of that manuscript, p. 127, is more eligible than the one which he has adopted. *αὕτη ἡ ἀπογραφὴ πρώτη ἐγένετο τῆς (ἀπογραφῆς) ἡ. τ. Σ. Κ.* is at least in better Greek construction. Of all the interpretations given of this very difficult passage, that which Campbell, after Calvin and others, has adopted, appears to us the most eligible, though it must be granted that it is not perfectly satisfactory. Probable solution is all that we can hope to obtain as the result of our investigations of a passage, the precise meaning of the author in which cannot for a moment be supposed to have been, what the most obvious construction of the words would express; namely, that an enrolment about the time of Christ's birth, was made when Cyrenius was the governor of Syria. There are difficulties attending the opinion of Calvin, Wetstein, Chandler, Campbell, Middleton, and others; but it may perhaps not be remote from the original purpose of Luke, to state, as that opinion would make him state, that the enrolment made about the time of Christ's birth, was carried into effect at a subsequent period under the presidency of Cyrenius. Mr. Benson does not refer to this interpretation, though he has noticed several of the explanations offered by other writers; nor does he seem to regard his own amended

version with much confidence, since he concludes his consideration of the case with the following excellent remarks.

‘ I confess then, that, without an alteration, I cannot reconcile the statement of this passage with the historical records which remain to us of that age; but there may be those who will deem this mode of solution to be equally, if not more objectionable, than those distorted translations which we have ventured to condemn. We must therefore see whether there is reason to suppose that the Writer himself was under a mistake.

‘ To settle this matter at once in the negative, and give an answer which may apply not only to the present, but also to every other similar difficulty, it may be useful and sufficient to observe, that the dates of St. Luke are of such a character as to preclude the possibility of our supposing that the Evangelist was either an impostor by design, or mistaken through ignorance. It is the custom with deceivers to dwell upon broad and general facts alone, to take those leading and universally acknowledged characters and dates which every one will perceive, and no one doubt. This they do because, as I have before observed, their object is *immediate* success, which would be checked rather than promoted by a contrary mode of proceeding. Examine then the Gospel of St. Luke by this rule, and mark the difference. Instead of loosely stating that it was in the reign of Tiberius that the word of the Lord came unto John, he discriminates the very year of that reign, and leads us to the very portion of the year by coupling it with the government of Pontius Pilate: instead of recording only who was the Roman Emperor at the time, of which no one could be in ignorance, he adds the insignificant tetrarchy of Lysanias and Abilene; a ruler and a dominion which it has demanded the scrutinizing enquiries of learning to elicit from the scanty documents of the history of that age. Instead of contenting himself with one undisputed fact, he has drawn together several from different sources, and of different kinds. But the most unequivocal mark of his veracity is in the notice which he has taken of *two* Jewish High Priests. That there was one, and one only, in every period of the Jewish Commonwealth, who was in the actual possession of that high and important office, is notorious to every reader of the Holy Scriptures; yet St. Luke has bestowed the title equally upon two.—Why he has done so, it is not my present purpose to decide; but I ask, whether, if his intention had been like that of every impostor, to conciliate the belief of his readers, he could have ventured upon the assertion of such an anomalous fact, even though aware that the statement was perfectly correct.—But St. Luke has simply stated the circumstance with the confidence of a man at once acquainted with the truth, and conscious of his own honesty; and by that proceeding has established his claims, with every candid mind, to the title of a contemporaneous and faithful historian.

‘ If St. Luke was not an intentional deceiver, he was not an ignorant writer. What is the declaration of his preface? That he had enquired diligently into the subject of his history. This, under our present hypothesis, is the testimony of an honest man; and we know

that he had opportunities enough of obtaining all the knowledge he wanted or might wish. It is not therefore lightly to be supposed that he would immediately proceed to falsify his declaration by collecting a multiplicity of dates of the correctness of which he was not thoroughly aware.—I say, that to imagine St. Luke to have been ignorant of the time and nature of the transactions he relates, or inattentive to the acquisition of the best information in his power upon a circumstance so intimately connected with the subject of which he was treating, is, from the reasonings already insisted upon, the most improbable, and therefore the last supposition we should embrace. The taxing of Cyrenius was too recent, and from several memorable and calamitous causes, too deeply imprinted upon the mind of every Jew, to be forgotten or mistaken. It is therefore infinitely more probable that both the present and every other difficulty with which his Gospel is clogged, should there be any to be found, which are absolutely irreconcilable with other writers, are irreconcilable rather on account of our ignorance than his. The loss of historical documents, and the imperfect records which have reached us of those times, are much more likely causes of the apparent contradictions which may (I will not say do) exist, than any presumed inattention or want of information on the part of the Evangelist himself.' pp. 133—138.

The question, To what Taxing does the Evangelist Luke (Ch. ii. vs. 1 and 2) probably allude? is the subject of examination, p. 142 to 159; and this section is one of the most ingenious and satisfactory in the whole volume. In the 17th book of the Antiquities of Josephus, the following circumstance is stated:—'When the whole Jewish nation took an oath to be faithful to Cæsar and the interests of the King, the Pharisees, to the number of above six thousand, refused to swear. The King having laid a fine upon them, the wife of Pheroras paid the money for them.' Lardner had noticed the great variety of circumstances which attended this oath as recorded by Josephus, and their agreement with the history of the Evangelists relating to the birth of Christ; but Mr. Benson has much improved upon the notices of Lardner, as he has also corrected some of his comments, and has made it highly probable, that the oath mentioned by the Jewish Historian, and the ἀπογραφὴ mentioned by the Evangelist Luke, were the same. In the subsequent section, the Author enters upon a computation from which he assigns to the oath, the same date which his previous and independent reasonings had concluded to be the most probable date of Christ's nativity, namely the Spring of J. P. 4700.

The notes of time which occur in the third Chapter of Luke's Gospel, are those to which the greatest importance has been attached by the writers who assert the spuriousness of the narratives of the Miraculous Conception. 'From Luke iii. 1. compared with ver. 23. it appears that Jesus was born fifteen years before the death of Augustus, that is, at least two years

after the death of Herod, a fact which completely falsifies the whole of the narrative contained in the preliminary chapters of Matthew and Luke.' This daring passage from Mr. Belsham's "*Calm Inquiry*," came under our reprehension in our review of Dr. Smith's work. Such a statement could not escape the notice of the Author of the "*Chronology of our Saviour's Life*," who has taken laudable pains with the several points of the alleged contradictions; and so strongly has he established the probabilities which are requisite to sustain the credibility of the Evangelists in the whole of the objectionable portions, that, apart from the importance, real or imagined, of the miraculous conception, the fact itself as related to the death of Herod and the reign of Augustus, may be received as the fair conclusion from the whole comparison of facts and circumstances necessary to guide our decisions on the subject.

Jesus was about thirty years of age at his baptism (Luke iii. 23); a period which includes a part of the time of Augustus's government of the Roman Empire and of the government of his successor Tiberius. Now, if it were indubitably certain that, without having been in any manner previously distinguished as a possessor of dominion in the empire, Tiberius had succeeded to power on the death of Augustus,—if the case of Tiberius were similar to the case of succession generally, it would be an indisputable conclusion, that if Jesus at thirty years of age was living in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, he had also lived fifteen years in the reign of his predecessor. But, as the fact is unquestionable, that Tiberius was colleague with Augustus, possessing equal power with him in the provinces and in the armies, for some time previous to the death of the latter; there is certainly ground for the reasonable presumption, that in the dating of Tiberius's reign by the Evangelist, such a computation was adopted as is at once agreeable to truth and in perfect harmony with all the facts included in his narrative. The whole circumstances being as they are, it is impossible to adduce any proof that the dates in Luke's Gospel are incorrect, or that any of the facts of the gospel history are excluded from the benefit of an agreement with them. The whole question of accordance between dates and facts in this case, must be resolved by the determination of the fifteenth year of Tiberius, as being the fifteenth year of his sole government as Emperor, or the fifteenth of his government dated from his nomination to supreme authority in the provinces and armies. Lardner has treated this subject at great length, and concludes for the latter mode of computation. Mr. Benson follows on the same side, but in arrangement and precision of inference he evidently has the advantage; and though the question is not freed from all obscurity, yet, we do not perceive that the statements and conclusions are

in any respect insufficient to sustain the veracity of the Evangelists in respect to the fact, that the birth of Christ was antecedent to the death of Herod. There is the indubitable fact, that Tiberius was admitted to a participation of the government in the provinces and in the armies, in the life-time of Augustus. There is, in the next place, the presumption that Luke was a resident in the provinces; and, thirdly, the fact that he has not designated the period in question as being the sole reign of Tiberius, but has adopted a descriptive word which admits of the strictest application to the government of Tiberius as referrible to his being the colleague of Augustus. We recommend the following observations of Mr. Benson to the attention of our readers.

‘ Had St. Luke indeed declared positively that it was in the 15th year of the *sole* empire of Tiberius that the word of God came unto John, or had he used the word *reign* or *empire* at all, I should not have ventured to defend the position which I am now advocating. But the word of the Evangelist, though translated *reign* in the authorized English version, does not imply a sole, or supreme, or independent sovereignty. St. Luke does not say, ‘Εν ἔτει πεντεκαίδεκατῷ τῆς βασιλείας or τῆς ἀρχῆς, but τῆς ΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΑΣ Τιβερίου. Now, though the word *ἡγεμονία* itself is not to be found in any other passage of the New Testament, the cognate words *ἡγεμονεύω* and *ἡγεμών* are frequently to be met with, and wherever they do occur, they imply universally, and without any exception whatever, a *subordinate* and not a *supreme* authority. Whenever a supreme and independent magistrate is spoken of, his title is always *βασιλεὺς*, which has been explained to us as clearly as any word can be explained by two of the Apostles themselves.— Τὸν βασιλέα ὡς ΥΠΕΡΕΧΟΝΤΙ, says St. Peter: ἐν βασιλείᾳ κυρίου ὁ θεὸς ὁ ΠΑΝΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ, says St. John. The term *βασιλεὺς* is also on one occasion particularly applied to the Roman Emperor, οὐκ ἔχοντες βασιλεῖα ἢ μη Κεῖσαρα. Lastly, there is a distinction made between *ἡγεμών* and *βασιλεὺς* both by St. Matthew and St. Mark; the nature of which distinction is carefully and clearly pointed out by St. Luke, the author now under our consideration. Paul was summoned to defend himself before Agrippa the King, and Festus the Governor of Judea. Agrippa was in his dominions a supreme and independent monarch. Festus held his authority under the Roman Emperor. After St. Paul had made his address, St. Luke observes that ‘the King and the Governor rose up,’ ἀνέστη ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν, thus placing between the words *βασιλεὺς* and *ἡγεμὼν* the same difference which subsists between a supreme and a subordinate power. The same distinction is, as far as I have observed, very scrupulously adhered to by Josephus. *Βασιλεὺς* or *ἀρχὴ* is the term he applies to an Emperor or King; *ἡγεμονία* and its cognates always refer to a power held under another as its supreme source, to a governor and government. From these remarks I think it is very highly probable that St. Luke did not, when speaking in the third chapter of his Gospel of the 15th year of Tiberius, intend to date from the commencement of his sole and independent empire;

but of some subordinate and dependent government. Had he meant his sole empire, he would have employed the word βασιλεια and not ἐγκυρια. pp. 210—212.

The proconsular government of Tiberius is, according to Mr. Benson's computations, to be dated as commencing from the latter end of J. P. 4724. The fifteenth year of his government, therefore, began in the Nov. or Dec. of J. P. 4738, and terminated in the Nov. or Dec. of the following year, 4739. In some part of the interval between May and October of this year, John the Baptist began his ministry; and the baptism of Jesus took place in the month of November, J. P. 4739, in which year, previously to the Passover, Pontius Pilate became governor of Judea. Such are the distributions of time which the Author's system of Chronology includes. The reasons on which he founds them are too copious to allow of being transferred into our pages, in their connected state, and we should not be able to do him justice by the insertion of detached passages or abridged arguments.

The duration of our Saviour's Ministry, is the subject of the first Section of Chap. VII. which attempts to settle the probable date of the Crucifixion. It would altogether exceed our limits, to notice the various authors who have written on the duration of Christ's Ministry, or to follow Mr. Benson in his examination of the question. Some of the ancients, it is well known, considered the entire series of transactions recorded in the life of Christ as comprised in one year, or one year and a few months. The stream of modern opinion runs in a different direction, and from three to four years are allowed by the greater number of Expositors as necessary for the occurrence of the several events described in the evangelical records. But Maun, in his "True Years of the Birth and Death of Christ," revived the opinion that but one year was taken up by the ministry of our Lord; an opinion which cannot be maintained without such tampering with the Gospel of John, as every sound critic would avoid. To strike out passages in opposition to all authority, and to make transpositions at will, in order that a hypothesis may be supported, is a course which no fair principles can be supposed to sanction. Mr. Benson's conclusions are the following: That there is very little reason to suppose that the feast in St. John, Chap. v. v 1, is to be considered as a Passover; that there is no sufficient argument or authority for rejecting the Passover mentioned by him in Chap. vi. v 4; and that there is no intimation whatever in his Gospel that should induce us to imagine that he omitted to record any of the Passovers which occurred in our Saviour's Ministry. It therefore follows, that, as he has enumerated, as his Gospel now stands, only three Passovers, 'the most probable opinion is that which assigns to our Saviour's Ministry a duration of two years and a half.'

The crucifixion of Christ, Mr. Benson concludes, occurred at the third Passover in his ministry, in March or April J. P. 4742.

The volume which we have noticed thus at length, is highly creditable to the talents of its Author. It is a work pregnant with proofs of his research and labour, of his intelligence, and of his ability as a reasoner. The discussions which it comprises are sometimes of a very fine and delicate texture ; but they relate to subjects which are necessarily obscure, as they include circumstances for which the connecting data are not readily to be obtained, if indeed the most successful researches can ever lead to the discovery of them.

Art. IV. *Farewell Letters* to a few Friends in Britain and America, on returning to Bengal in 1821. By William Ward, of Serampore. 12mo. pp. 312. Price 6s. London. 1821.

THERE was a time, and that not very remote, when the name of a Baptist Missionary would have been pronounced by the majority of even well informed persons in this country, with little respect or complacency,—when tolerance was the utmost that was thought due to their well meant labours. It is satisfactory to witness the complete revolution which has taken place in the public sentiment, since their astonishing achievements in the Oriental languages have procured for them the applause of the literati of Europe. Of the fifty languages of India, twenty-five have already been conquered by these indefatigable labourers in the best of causes, among which are the Chinese and the Sūṅskrit, the two most difficult languages in the world ; and in each of these twenty-five dialects, the Holy Scriptures, either in whole or in part, have been already printed. As both the Hindoos and the Mahomedans have always been taught that their systems are founded on Divine revelations, Christianity could never have taken deep root in India, had not the Missionary been prepared to exhibit the Christian Records to the natives in their vernacular tongue. The first anticipations of the venerable Father of the mission, extended little further than that he might live to translate the Holy Scriptures into the language of Bengal. And had he, remarks Mr. Ward, ‘ given the word of God to these Twelve Millions of people ‘ only, who had never before seen it, and to all the generations ‘ of their descendants, he would have been the instrument of ‘ doing a good which it falls to the happy lot of few men to be ‘ able to accomplish.’ Dr. Carey wrote with his own hand, the five octavo volumes in which the Bengalee Bible is comprised, and was proceeding in the same unwearied course with the Sūṅskrit, till he was reminded by a pain in his side, that his pāṇdit could equally well perform this part of the labour. It was not long after the Sūṅskrit had proceeded through the

press, that learned Hindoos from various parts began to solicit employment in the college of Fort William; and as but few could be engaged, they were glad to accept of employment at Serampore. The Sūṅskrit New Testament being put into their hands as the standard work, they were directed to give a version of this New Testament in their respective vernacular tongues. The number of these native translators, when the Governor-general and the Bishop of Calcutta, with their ladies, recently visited the Mission-house at Serampore, amounted to more than thirty. From the perusal of the New Testament alone, several very interesting conversions are stated to have taken place.

‘A number of years ago,’ says Mr. Ward, ‘I left a New Testament at Ramkrishṇū-poor, after preaching in the market place. To the perusal of this book is to be traced the conversion of Sébūkram, now an excellent and successful preacher; of Krishṇ-das, who died happily in his work as a bold and zealous preacher; of Jūgūnat’h, and one or two other individuals. Mr. Chamberlain, some years ago, left a New Testament in a village; and by reading this book, a very respectable young man of the writer cast, Tarachūnd, and his brother, Mūt’hoor, embraced the Gospel.’ ‘Tarachūnd is one of our best Christian Hindoo poets: he has composed more than a hundred hymns found in our Bengalee hymn-book, and a pamphlet, placing in striking contrast heathenism and Christianity, which I hope will be the means of diffusing much Christian light. His brother is employed as Persian interpreter in the Dutch court of justice at Chinsurah.’

‘I have seen the New Testament lying by the sick bed of the Christian Hindoo, as his best companion; and the truths it contains, have been the comfort of the afflicted, and the source of strong consolation and firm hope in death to many a dying Hindoo.’

About fifty *native* preachers, among whom are some Bramhūns of the highest rank, are now employed in superintending stations, or as assistants to the Missionaries in itinerating; and several large societies have been gathered wholly by their means. More than a thousand adults have been baptized by the Baptist Missionaries, the greater part of whom were formerly Pagans. About twenty thousand heathen children are under instruction; and such is the anxiety of the natives to obtain it for their children throughout Bengal, that rich Hindoos have become annual subscribers to the native schools; and adds Mr. Ward,

‘Before I left Serampore, almost daily deputations from the villages all around, and from the distance of sixteen and even twenty miles, were arriving and entreating us to set up schools in their villages, promising to supply schoolmasters, and even to turn their family temples into Lancasterian school-rooms.’

The institution of the Native Missionary College at Serampore, is a most important measure, as connected with the system of making India evangelize itself and the surrounding nations. The present Governor-general, who, as well as his Mar-

richness, has manifested a most benevolent solicitude to promote the civilization and instruction of the natives, is its patron.

'In fact,' says Mr. Ward, 'a moral revolution more grand and important has taken place in British India, within the last twenty years, than is perhaps to be found in all the annals of the Church, the apostolic times excepted. "And still it spreads:"—the translations are daily advancing; education is extending its operations in the most rapid manner; and converts from these heathens are almost daily added to the Christian Church; and these converts bring their books and their gods, and cast them to the moles and to the bats, and renounce their covenant with death. Every thing indicates the approach of a vast change in the appearance of this spiritual desert; a change full of promise to the teeming millions of Asia.'

Most of our readers, we apprehend, are aware of the very extraordinary facts connected with the simultaneous efforts of the London Missionary Society's labourers in the South Seas. The moral aspect of Otaheite at this time, the animating prospects which have suddenly opened in the Island of Madagascar, the prosperous state of the African mission stations, and the immense field of exertion which spreads itself before us in the East,—all these circumstances taken together might seem sufficient to rouse and fix the attention of the most unreflecting observer, to satisfy, or at least to silence, the most sceptical, and to quicken the languid circulation of the most phlegmatic believer.

This is one side of the picture. It is well to hold it up for the purpose of shewing that there is nothing chimerical in the design in which those admirable men have embarked, who have separated themselves to the work of evangelizing the heathen; that no insurmountable difficulties embarrass the undertaking; and that inadequate as is the human instrumentality employed to the stupendous task, and inconsiderable as appear the first-fruits of their labours, when reduced to figures and contrasted with the millions of heathen,—still, there are, abstracting from this consideration, a grandeur in the scale of exertion, and a magnitude in the result, which leave far behind the schemes and achievements of secular politicians, and cast reproach on the inactive spectator.

But it is not for the purpose of either challenging admiration for what has been accomplished, or of flattering the religious public with this pleasing promise, much less for that of soothing the imagination into complacency, that Mr. Ward has been induced to publish these details. There has been somewhat too much of this. Speaking of the annual meetings held in the metropolis, Mr. Ward says:

'Instead of fasting and prayer at these great seasons, we keep a re-

tigious jubilee, although 600,000,000 of the beings to whom it refers, die every thirty years "without God, without Christ, and without hope in the world!" We meet with the feeling of conquerors when, in fact, the whole country remains in the hands of the enemy..... In Hindoostan, millions are to be taught. The labourers are lost among this dense population like a drop in the ocean.'.....' Ah, my dear sir, I can never convey to your mind that awful feeling of Christian solitude—that overwhelming loneliness which I have sometimes experienced, when standing, 15,000 miles from a Christian land, among Forty or Fifty Thousand mad idolaters, hearing their shouts and seeing their frenzy. How piercing the thought, that this was an exhibition of the mental and spiritual condition, this the brutal worship, and this the preparation for eternity of 500,000,000 of the human race! Oh! under these impressions, the Christian Church becomes almost invisible; and the work to be accomplished appears so prodigious, that nothing but the recollection of the promises, of Calvary, and of Pentecost, preserves the mind from absolute despair.'

The Letters, twenty-six in number, comprise remarks on the following subjects: On the present spiritual state of the world, and the causes which have led to the neglect of the command of Christ to preach the Gospel to every creature; on the future state of the heathen; on the philosophical systems and popular superstitions of the Hindoos, the degraded state of female society among them, and the cruelties and impurities connected with their worship; on the concern of many of the Hindoos respecting a future state; on the necessity of a greater union in prayer for Divine Influence; on the triumphs of the Missionary cause in India, the progress of Translations and Schools, and the great moral changes in the East; on the effects of conversion in the Hindoo; on the certainty of the final triumphs of Christianity; on the importance and duties of the Missionary life. The last eight letters contain some interesting details relating to the history and present state of the Mennonite churches on the Continent and in America; the state of religion in Holland and in the United States; and the constitution and present circumstances of the American Episcopal church.—These Letters are obviously addressed to religious readers: it is needless, after enumerating the topics, to say, that to them they will be extremely interesting. They breathe the pure ardour, the simple-mindedness, and the "excellent spirit" of a genuine Evangelist. The strain of the volume is, throughout, a solemn and touching appeal to the professed disciples of Christ of every name, on behalf of the unevangelized heathen; and the Christianity of that man must be of a very doubtful character, who can rise from the perusal without feeling at once humbled and excited by the convictions which it is adapted to leave upon the mind.

The remarks on the causes of the neglect of the commission of Christ, claim peculiar attention as proceeding from a *looker*

on ; one whose circumstances, too, peculiarly qualify him to form an unprejudiced opinion. Mr. Hall has enumerated among the indirect benefits which may be expected to arise from Missions, ' a more pure, simple, apostolical mode of presenting the Gospel.' ' The situation of a missionary retired from the scene of debate and controversy, who has continually before his eyes the objects which presented themselves to the attention of the Apostles, is favourable to an emancipation from prejudice of every sort, and to the acquisition of just and enlarged conceptions of Christianity.*' Coming, then, from a person of Mr. Ward's character, we should hope that the observations he makes on the theories and practices which seem to him at variance with the missionary spirit, will be received by those whom they chiefly concern with kindness and deference. The letter in which they occur, is addressed to a gentleman in America ; but they cannot have been intended to apply exclusively to the state of things in that country. There is a numerous section of the religious world (as it is termed) in this country, to whom the application of the following remarks will be obvious.

' Those views of the Divine sovereignty which diminish, in the mind of the recipient, all compassion for the unconverted, and every influential impression of the absolute and inseparable connexion between the end and the means, must necessarily produce an indifference to the use of means where vigorous effort is required, and where expense is to be incurred.....It is possible so to preach on the subject of election, as to please a congregation by bringing them to indulge the most contracted ideas of the kingdom of Christ, exhibiting it only in connexion with the awful displays of Divine justice, instead of expanding the mind, and stimulating it to exertion, by exhibitions equally Scriptural, and in which we behold the whole world brought into the fold of Christ. The baneful effect on missions of such partial displays of this Scriptural doctrine, (given to comfort believers, but believers of an order of piety to which few in our day attain,) need not be enlarged upon.'

' The fact is,' says Mr. Ward, ' that most of the professors in England, &c., labour under a preaching surfeit.' Without stopping to inquire whether this is not rather too strongly put, we must admit that there is such a thing in religion as a spiritual *plethora* ; the obvious cause of which is to be found in a strong appetite for doctrine, accompanied with habits of moral inactivity. Persons whose temper and attainments lead them to require "strong meat," stand in peculiar need of being excited to hard labour : if not, they will be in imminent danger of growing lethargic. High Calvinism, or we would rather say *strong* Calvinism, may be imbibed not only with impunity, but

with the most salutary effects, so long as the active powers are kept in constant play, and the affections retain their healthful vigour. But, to a recluse, to one whose affections are in a morbid state, or whose religious views terminate on himself, the stimulant becomes positively deleterious, and deposits a sediment of the most fatal kind. It was of religious knowledge that an Apostle said, "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity (benevolence) edifieth." In relation to the same knowledge, it is said, "Though I understand all mysteries and all knowledge, and have all faith, and have not charity, I am nothing."

The effect which Mr. Ward attributes to the sort of preaching he alludes to, must have struck all persons conversant with the religious world in its different varieties: it is the certain symptom of the disease which such preaching induces; namely, 'contracted views of the kingdom of Christ.' The preaching in question, like much which is erroneously stigmatised as Antinomian, is not, in its letter, at variance with any one doctrine of Christianity; and it embodies truths of the first importance, which other preachers are too apt to overlook. This gives it its pungency and its success. But then, it so rivets the attention of the hearer to some one or two points, that these soon come to occupy the whole field of vision. The changes are rung on a few favourite ideas till the mind becomes contracted to that narrow scale, and learns to judge of every thing that is offered to it in the shape of doctrine by that arbitrary standard. For the nicest shades of colour in doctrinal truths, persons of this class have a microscopic eye; but they "cannot see afar off." The Christian Temple is too spacious an area for them to range in: they must have their private chapel hollowed out in one of its side-walls for their *adytum*, and there alone they feel safe. They are not content to cut off all communication between themselves and the court of the Gentiles; they have their *ecclesia in ecclesia*, from which not only the unbeliever, but the novice is excluded. In such a state of feeling, the heathen have little chance of being remembered with much interest.

There are some persons, indeed, we are told by an able advocate in the cause of Missions, who go so far as to consider undertakings of this nature 'as a species of impiety; as presumptuously anticipating the purposes, and infringing on the prerogatives of Heaven. In apology for their indifference to all exertions of this description to evangelize and save the world, they argue, that the work is God's; that the evil to be deplored is such as none but God can remove; that known to him are all his works from the beginning of the world; and that when the period arrives, destined by himself for the execution of the great design, he will arise in his might, and plead

' his own cause.* This religious fatalism, the joint offspring of selfish indolence and a spurious orthodoxy, which, while it seems to adore the sovereignty of God, really impugns his character as the Moral Governor,—were it palpable enough to be made to feel the force of all that is powerful in argument, or persuasive in eloquence, would have received its death-blow from the gigantic "Discourse" of Mr. Foster.† Perhaps, Mr. Ward's simple statements may come more directly home to persons of moderate intellect, so as to induce in some of the better disposed who have laboured under this unhappy mistake, a conviction of its impiety.

It is, however, most important to bear in mind, that the ' most assured belief in the Divine decrees, has not necessarily ' the effect of paralyzing the active powers.' If we have any fault to find with the venerated Author of these Letters, it is, that he has not sufficiently guarded his remonstrance against the unscriptural, that is, the exclusive mode of exhibiting this doctrine, by this needful remark. We are tempted to avail ourselves here of the language of Mr. Foster in the Discourse already adverted to. He says: ' There is no denying that such is the ' tendency of the belief in question, in cold, inanimate, indolent spirits that are really indifferent to the objects placed in ' view. And so, for *any one* of the whole list of religious truths, ' there is some particular state of mind which is apt to take ' from it an injurious effect. But let there be an earnest interest ' about the objects in question, and then the zeal and activity ' will be promoted rather than repressed by the faith in all-comprehending and absolute decrees. Accordingly, it has been, ' we think, for the greater proportion, by decided predestinarians, that the most ardent and efficient exertions of religious ' innovation have been made upon the inveterate evils of the ' world. It was in the element of this doctrine of decrees, ' that they felt their impetus the mightier, their weapons the ' sharper, their aim the surer.'

From truth, from the *whole* truth, nothing but good can proceed. The morbid fear of these doctrines entertained by many who believe in them, arises from not sufficiently distinguishing between their genuine tendency, as imbodyed in the Apostolic writings, and their effect as presented in a dry scholastic form, or dwelt upon as detached dogmas. Let but the Christian minister take these doctrines as he finds them in the Scriptures, and use them in the same way that the Apostles made use of them, and he needs feel no solicitude about their tendency. All that

* " Christian Missions vindicated and encouraged." A Sermon. By Thomas Edmonds. A.M. p. 22.

† See especially pp. 67—94.

is appalling in these doctrines, arises either from a misapprehension of their nature, or from the *facts to which they indirectly relate, and which have an existence quite independent of any doctrine we may receive respecting them.* It is a most unhappy practice, to mix up speculations concerning moral evil, with the Scriptural doctrine of Predestination. This has led many persons to reject the doctrine, as a way of evading facts, which, however, still return upon them in all their difficulty, because they are facts; facts which, till we begin to speculate, present no difficulty; facts which those take the best means of reconciling with their duty and their peace of mind, who, instead of denying, with the sceptic, their existence, or, with the Antinomian, shutting their eyes to their personal implication in them, and, regarding them with an indolent, heartless, callous composure, borrow from them an impulse to strenuous benevolent exertion, while they maintain a legitimate tranquillity of sentiment by the energies of prayer.

In the Letter on the religious anxiety of the Hindoos, Mr. Ward cites as an illustration of St. Paul's ardent and self-devoted zeal, the expression in Rom. ix. 3 : " I could wish myself accursed from Christ—for my brethren." This, though the usual, is, we are fully persuaded, an erroneous interpretation of the words. Dr. Dwight has remarked that it ruins the meaning of the passage, and that it is not warranted by the original text. The declaration in the Greek is not, " I could wish," but, " I wished ;" the verb being not in the optative mood, but in the indicative. This remark did not, however, originate with him. The words ought to be included in a parenthesis, and may be with strict propriety rendered, " For I gloried in being separate from Christ." The monstrous position which some eminent divines have attempted to found on this passage, that a willingness to suffer perdition is a part of Christian resignation, renders it the more important to point out the palpable impropriety of the common reading.*

The Letter on the necessity of prayer for Divine Influence, and that on the certainty of the triumphs of the Gospel, are peculiarly striking and valuable. We earnestly recommend them to *public* as well as private perusal. We are withheld from making further citations, only by the persuasion that the volume itself will soon be in the hands of all our readers to whom they would be acceptable. It will be a very suitable addition to the vestry library.

* See Dwight's *Theology*. Sermon xcv. Vol. iii. p. 406 *et seq.*

Art. V. *Woman in India*. A Poem. Part I. Female Influence. By John Lawson, Missionary at Calcutta. 12mo. pp. 32. Price 2s. London. 1821.

THE design of this poem is to advocate the cause of the miserable females of India. We notice it, therefore, in immediate connexion with the subject of the preceding article. Of Mr. Lawson's poetical talents we have already expressed a favourable opinion in our review of his "*Orient Harpings*." The present production, if not quite equal to the best parts of that volume, will do him no discredit; and the subject is full of interest. The completion of his plan, Mr. Lawson states, 'will much depend on the doubtful circumstances of health and public opinion.' We have little doubt that, if his health allows of it, he will be encouraged to proceed, but we should recommend the publication of the entire sequel, in preference to sending out detached portions. We subjoin an extract from the present Part, which is altogether introductory: the lines are the genuine effusion of parental sorrow.

' O she is gone !

The cherub hasted to its native home.
 All-wasting death has triumphed o'er my child.
 Sweet withered lily ! thou wast riven, and flung
 Across my shaking knees, a lovely wreck
 Of innocence and beauty. Long I saw,
 Long, long, the fearful presage hang about
 Her beauteous features, darkening round her eyes—
 But they would smile with gladdening love upon me.
 To me thou wast a plaything beyond price.
 Health in thy countenance, and sprightliness
 In all thy motions, made thee like a being
 Of fancy, sporting in a pleasant dream !
 O 'twas too like a dream ! Thy yellowish locks
 Of shining hair, parted with infant grace
 Upon thy snowy forehead, and thy smilings,
 Pleading expressively when thou wouldst play
 With my fair sea-shells tinged with blushing stains
 Like thy own ruby lips, and thy clear voice
 So musical and merry, with thy arms
 All plump and white entwined around my neck,
 Glow on my anguished mind, while I remember
 Thy labouring breath when dying ; and thy pale,
 Shivering, and sickly hands, which could no longer
 Grasp the cold cup of water ; and that look,
 That plaintive look which spoke a thousand words
 Of calm unutterable fondness. Mute
 Became thy little tongue, for ever quenched
 In settled dimness were thy sorrowful eyes.
 Upbraid me not ! speak not of the great soul,

Nor shame these burning tears ! May not stern man
One moment weep—I could not then control
The tumult of my heart, when death had done
Such deadly work.

‘ Stay ! stay thy heavenward flight !
My girl, O breathe again ! I’ll bear thee far
From this ungenial clime, and lay thee down
Midst fragrant honeysuckles, where the fields
Are flush with all that blooms to give thee health.
Thy fingers too shall pluck the earliest violets
Clustering together in their green recesses,
While the fresh scent of earth shall strengthen thee,
And thou with God’s good blessing shalt rejoice,
And bound with infant merriment upon
The beautiful meadows, and shalt laugh to see
Thy dimpled likeness down in the glassy brook—
O, that was wildly spoken, for I clasp thee
Cold, cold and lifeless to my bursting bosom !
Still I would smile upon thee, O my love,
And think of thee sped to thy better home—
Nightly thy prayers were innocently lisped,
Well taught by her who brought thee forth. Farewell !
Thou blossom of my hope !—but not for ever,
For I have heard thee talk of holy angels
Walking upon the cloudy plains on high ;
Oft have I heard thee sing their blessed song,
Faint hallelujahs swelling on thy lips,
The tender preludes of maturer hymns.
As on some fretful night, when the sweet stars
Shine but at intervals from their wide fields
Above, presaging conflict of the skies ;
Though in the tangling brake the sudden gust,
Biting and bleak, ruffles the untried plumes—
Though the sad aspect of the hastening clouds,
Like the disastrous rout of vanquished troops,
Checks the incipient kindlings of new life—
The youngling bird yet twitters now and then,
Half slumbering, half awake, and lifts the wing
With dreamy pleasure to the blowing gale,
Anticipating the broad burst of day ;
Then, while the dawning light climbs o’er the arch,
And flings its gold upon the dreaded tempest,
Spurns the cold earth, and warbles in the heavens.’

pp. 13—17.

Art. VI. *Immortality : a Poem.* To which is added, *The Pastor :*
a Poem. fcap 8vo. pp. 80. Price 3s.6d. London. 1821.

THERE are a great many different kinds of immortality, and immortalities of various lengths of duration. There is the poet's immortality, and the lover's immortality. Every one remembers the couplet of the reverend Satirist.

‘ But say, my all, my mistress, and my friend,
What day next week th’ eternity shall end.’

The same question might be put with regard to many deathless honours, and immortal things. For instance, we dare not promise the present Author that his will be other than a very mortal Immortality.

We are not displeased, however, when a young poet chooses a theme above his powers. The judgement is, of all the faculties, the latest in its development. Putting aside the incurable fault of a vague, indefinite, untractably sublime subject, on which the poet rides like a dwarf on a giant's shoulders, or, rather, to borrow a more splendid comparison, which places him much in the situation of Phaëton when undertaking to guide the coursers of the Sun,—putting aside the inevitable consequences of the Author's too ambitious choice, the poem exhibits marks of very respectable talents, and contains passages worthy of many a successful prize poem. Perhaps, we may say that the execution is uniformly better than the conception. The thoughts are sometimes crude, and the meaning indistinct; but the verse is musical and spirited, and gives strong indications of abilities that may ripen into a competence for much happier efforts. We subjoin an extract in proof of this assertion, and shall be glad if it procures for the poem the notice of our readers.

‘ Angel of bliss ! thy wonder-working pow’r
Can soothe life’s darkest, most tumultuous hour ;
Can laugh at fear, and dull the edge of pain,
’Till Death shall barb his darts and strike in vain.

‘ When the wild demon, Persecution, flew,
And o’er the church his cursed shadow threw ;
When in sepulchral caverns underground
The hunted remnant of the saints was found,
Bereft of wealth and home ; no murm’ring cries,
But shouts of jubilation, rent the skies.
Lo ! by the torch that feeble lustre sheds
On slimy walls and on their flinty beds,
The congregated host at midnight throng,
And holy rapture burns within their song.
They, fir’d with zeal no mortal threat could shake,
Smil’d on the rack, and triumph’d at the stake !

Then, Immortality, that awful hour
 Reveal'd the wonders of thy magic pow'r.
 With the fierce flames that round their temples play'd,
 Thy heav'nly fingers wreaths of glory made.
 And gazing tyrants with suspended breath,
 Saw their pale victims conquer ev'n in death.

' Prophetic angel! soon thy page shall close,
 And mark with joy the period of our woes!
 O'er the wide world the gospel tidings roll,
 And life's bright streamers flash from pole to pole!"

' Fly, ye glad heralds! fly, and bless our race!
 Each barb'rous shore, each desert ocean trace!
 Great God! Thy kingdom and thy power be known!
 Scatter thy foes, and make the world thy throne!

' 'Tis done! lo, Heaven its awful mandate sends!
 And to the cross the humbled crescent bends.
 Lo! ancient idols from their bases nod,
 Fall to the dust, and own the Sov'reign God!
 Lo, war's wild demon immolated lies,
 On his own altar bound a sacrifice.
 The wond'ring negro feels his fetters fall,
 And leaps, exulting at the heavenly call.
 Earth one vast temple,—all her children raise
 One mingled voice, one holy song of praise.'

The Pastor is a very pleasing sketch; it is written in the Spenserian stanza, in the management of which the Author discovers no small facility of versification. The sentiments do credit to his feelings, and the subject lies more within his compass.

Art. VII. *Daily Bread*; or Meditations, practical and experimental, for every Day in the Year, by more than One Hundred of the most eminent and popular Ministers of the last Half Century, and a few other Writers, the whole adapted either for the Family or Closet, and containing the Outline of 366 Discourses. T. Williams, Editor. 12mo. pp. 610. Price 8s. 6d. London. 1820.

MANY of the articles contained in this volume, are stated to have been given to the Editor by the ministers whose names are affixed to them; others were taken down from them as delivered from the pulpit. Among this class of contributors occur the names of the Rev. Messrs. Beddome, Bogue, Burder, R. Cecil, Hitchins, Jefferson, Lambert, Parsons, Pearce, Peckwell, T. Priestley, Styles, and Ryland. The outlines of several discourses of the Rev. Andrew Fuller, and Dr. Mason of New York, were furnished by a friend. The remainder, including some originals, have been drawn from various sources. The average length of the meditations is two pages. In order to

compress them into this compass, great conciseness has been observed; and sometimes it has been found requisite to subject the papers to abridgement. The Editor has evidently bestowed no small pains on the compilation, for which, we have no doubt, he will be amply rewarded by the sale of the work among that numerous class of religious readers for whose use it is mainly designed, and to whom his labours will be highly acceptable. We take almost at random the following specimen: it has the signature, A. Fuller.

' DEUT. vii. 2, latter clause.—*To know what was in thine heart, whether thou wouldest keep his commandments or no.*

' There is in every situation which we are called to pass through, a peculiar duty, a commandment attached to that situation, and God leads us into it, to see whether we will keep his commandment in it or not: and we may lay it down as an axiom, that so much as there is of obedience to God, under the circumstances in which we are placed, just so much true religion we have, and no more. We often hear it pleaded, "My circumstances were peculiar;" but there is a commandment to every situation; there is no part of the road through which God leads us, which has not a direction attached to it; and he leads us through the situation, that it may be manifest whether we will obey him or not.

' Let us instance a few particulars. We have seen them that have prospered in the world, and risen insensibly to opulence; we marked their gradual rising, and have been ready to say, "Take care, my friend, be not high-minded, but fear; trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God:" there is the commandment for them, and we can see it very clearly. But perhaps God, by and bye, leads us that way. We have often said in our hearts, if not in words, "Oh, if I had such a one's fortune, what good I would do with it; I would contribute to this liberal object, and to that great design!" Alas! we know not what is in our hearts, till God proves them by his providence.

' Again, we have seen poor people murmuring under poverty; have witnessed their discontent; have seen many fretting themselves, as well as grieving others, under affliction; and we have said, "It does not become you to act thus,—were I in your situation I should endeavour to reconcile my mind to my situation." We have perhaps seen them ungrateful to us when they ought to have been thankful; and we have thought, "Surely this should not be." Ah! we have seen their disobedience, but we are not yet out of the wilderness. God may see occasion to strip us of our property, or our family, and make us dependent upon those about us. Poor short-sighted creatures! if God should then lead us about, we may find something in our hearts, which we did not suspect till the day of trial. Asaph was led about; he did not seem at all to suspect himself till he came to the trial, but when he came to see "waters of a full cup wrung out to him," we find him indulging atheistical thoughts, that it were

better to be God's enemy than his friend. In short, he proved to be in the day of trial what he confesses himself—"I was even as a beast before thee." Alas! who knows what is in his heart till it is tried?

But, further, we have seen persons that have passed through strong temptations, and peradventure they have been overcome: persons who maintained a fair character for a considerable time, but they have been brought into perilous circumstances, and they have fallen. Ah! there is many a secret wickedness in the human heart, which only waits for circumstances to draw it forth. Well, we have seen this. Some long-standing, highly respected Christians have fallen sadly, and brought dishonour upon the name of Christ. We have censured them, and they have deserved it; but if the Lord should lead us into the same temptation, bring us into similar circumstances, place us upon the spot on which they stood, take off the restraint upon the evils of our minds, who knows what characters we may prove? We are kept out of more evils by God's keeping us out of temptation, than by any other means. Providence keeps us from more open villainess, perhaps, than grace (does.) Again, we have often, I dare say, seen persons of our acquaintance, who have been unkindly and injuriously treated; we have marked their tempers; perhaps seen them unforgiving and resentful. We have seen the evil, have noticed what was the commandment in their case, perhaps have been able to give a word of counsel, "Do not be unforgiving; do not be revengeful." Well, all this is well; but perhaps God may lead us about that way; we may be treated unkindly, cruelly; then he will prove what is in our hearts; then is the time to prove whether we can obey the commandment of which we reminded others.

Finally, perhaps, we have been ready to say, "O, if I had more time! if my family was grown up; if my business was less fatiguing, or if my circumstances were more easy; if I could get into such a one's situation, then I should read more; I should pray more; I should be more spiritually minded; I should be better than I am." In other words, we lay almost all our faults upon our circumstances, and not upon ourselves. Now, it may be the Lord leads us into those very circumstances in which we thought how much better we should be, in order to prove to us that the fault lies, not in our situation, but in our heart. Thus God sometimes leads us through a whole round of situations and circumstances, that it might be manifested whether we will keep his commandments or no. Every situation has its commandment and its trial, and we shall one day recollect with gratitude, that this is the way which the Lord our God has led us.

pp. 197—199.

Art. VIII. *An Introduction to Modern History*, from the Birth of Christ to the present Time. By W. Jillard Hort. 2 vols. 24mo. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1819.

AS we are not inclined to make these volumes a text for a general dissertation on History, we can have little more to say of them, than that they are fairly executed, and sufficiently adapted to the purpose of giving a rapid view of the principal

events of the story of the world from the birth of our Saviour. We are not, indeed, quite sure that we fall in with the system of summaries and outlines. We have a strong suspicion that the mind, even at an early age, is more likely to be attracted by details than by abstracts, and that the combined pliability and tenaciousness of the memory will then lend a more retentive, as well as a more eager attention to a multiplicity of interesting facts, than to a barren classification of events. We are at the same time fully aware of the difference between private and public education, and of the impossibility, in the latter, of acting on any other than general and systematic plans: the framework alone can be laid down; it must be left to maturer years for its completion. In this view, we think this work well suited to its object, and, as far as we are able to judge without a minute collation of dates and authorities, sufficiently accurate. We have, indeed, noticed two or three statements in which a more careful balance of evidence would have suggested a somewhat less decided turn of phrase; as when Las Casas is affirmed to have proposed the alleviation of South American servitude by the adoption of the negro slave trade. This charge should not have been so peremptorily stated, since it rests on the doubtful authority of Herrera, and has been successfully repelled by the Abbé Gregoire. Again, it is asserted without qualification, that Agricola was 'put to death' by Domitian; but this expression conveys the idea of an avowed execution, whereas the imputation is only matter of strong suspicion, and, at the utmost, extends only to the secret administration of poison. '*Augebat miser rationem,*' says Tacitus, '*constans rumor, veneno interceptum. Nobis nihil comperti affirmare ausim.*'

Art. IX. *Sketch of a Plan for Settling in Upper Canada, a Portion of the Unemployed Labourers of England.* By a Settler. 8vo. pp. 26. Price 2s. London. 1821.

IN addition to the books noticed in a former Number containing information respecting Canada, Mr. C. F. Grece's "Facts and Observations" will convey to the Emigrant much serviceable detail. According to the concurrent testimony of various respectable witnesses, the inducements presented by Upper Canada, at least to an Englishman, would seem to entitle it to his preference. 'It contains many millions of acres of fertile unoccupied land, with a climate suited to all agricultural pursuits. It possesses the same laws, the same manners, and, above all, the same constitution as England.'

The present Sketch holds out to parishes the opportunity of permanently relieving themselves of their redundant population by a temporary advance of capital, bearing interest, that shall place in independence those who are now subsisting on parochial

relief. The Writer calculates that the sum of £200 advanced to each family, will enable them to acquire prosperous settlements in two years, and within ten years to repay the advances. On the accuracy of his calculations and the impartiality of his representations, persons interested in the subject will, of course, not implicitly depend; but they bear the marks of fairness. The phrases, 'under favourable circumstances,' 'with common industry,' &c. will suggest the necessity of some slight deduction as an insurance against unfavourable circumstances. It will be requisite also, that agricultural settlers in our distant colonies, should be secured against the possibility of not finding a market for their produce. The calculations which take this trifling circumstance for granted, must depend for their correctness entirely on the regulations imposed by Government on the trade of our colonies. The existing statutes restrain the Canadians from trying to obtain a market and making purchases in foreign countries; and the operation of the Corn-laws has been, under certain circumstances, to restrict them from buying and selling at all. Hence, it is the matter of complaint at this moment, that their surplus wheat is lying in their granaries without the possibility of obtaining any price, while the same article is selling at New York at a dollar per bushel. It will be in vain that our colonies present natural advantages to the Emigrant, if the impolitic restrictions on commerce, and the general vices of our colonial system, counteract those advantages so as to render a settlement in the United States a preferable measure.

It does honour to the present Writer, that his "Sketch" includes the setting apart of a portion of the projected colony for an *Indian reserve*.

'It is felt that wrongs most unprovoked, and never yet *nationally* attempted to be repaired, have been perpetrated upon them. The kind exertions of the few have always been accompanied, and have been thwarted by the more extensive activity of wrong policies in governments, or by brutal selfishness in individuals; and so, till now, the rightful owners of a deserted soil have been crushed; the well-meaning amongst us considering their case as hopeless, the crafty pretending it to be so.'

'The executive government of the United States appears to be taking steps towards an important revolution with respect to the Indians of North America; and it may be found necessary by the British authorities, to reconsider the principles upon which our own intercourse with them has been hitherto conducted. The only way in which their cause can be connected with the present Sketch, is that a portion of the projected colony may be set apart for an Indian reserve. This may be thought right even if a title no longer exists in any tribe, as is probably true, to the lands now about to be settled; it may prove good policy, and a wise benevolence, to hold out to wanderers a link of connection with humanized society. The suggestion

is made after some consideration; and the necessary details of management, are neither many nor complicated. The policy of England has, with some exceptions, been to add her conquests to herself integrally, and no good reason can be given against many of the Indians in Canada becoming gradually integral portions and members of the British community. It is in form only that they can be said to be independent nations. This suggested reserve of a place of national hospitality, has reference to the forming of a connection between Indians in Upper Canada and ourselves, as fellow subjects of the same government. That something of this kind ought to be attempted, no man of right feelings will deny; and that the Indians themselves are thoroughly incapable of being worked upon by these principles of treatment, no man acquainted with their history, can venture to assert. It is the orator, and not the man, who says that under all circumstances uncivilized tribes will meet the nations of Europe with hostility, rejecting even friendship prior to any experience of our good or bad qualities. The fact is not so; it is true that bands of quaters will not suddenly become sowers of corn, and be confined to narrow districts, and to close mechanical occupations, but the numerous intermediate steps between highly cultivated society, and wild habits, have been taken by great numbers of American Indians most rapidly. In the small island of Nantucket, alone, in New England, there were in 1720, eight hundred Christian communicants of these people, in three congregations. Gospels and grammars were printed in their language, and domestic implements of all kinds were prepared in their then fixed villages, for sale to the European settlers. It is probable that an uniform adherence to just principles towards them, would have changed entirely the modes of life of these noble people. They who are in contact with us, know now thoroughly, and they feel acutely the evils of their present forlorn condition; but no hand protects them from the manifest and unsparing superiority of those whose immediate interests their own worst indulgences promote.

‘ The submission of a lunatic to the fixed countenance of his keeper is not more decided than that of a home Indian to some of their connections amongst the whites. That the relation should exist in this character, needs only be stated to be abhorred. The presentiment they have of the extinction of their race, is very melancholy. It was but lately, that the chief of a small tribe near the Rice Lake, said to an European settler, “ You will soon drive us away, but when a solitary canoe sometimes passes by your dwelling, do not forget that the owner always received you at his with welcome.”

‘ If the principles on which William Penn acted had prevailed; or if Franklin’s advice to “ treat the Indians with justice always, and sometimes with kindness,” had been generally attended to, fewer European individuals might have enriched themselves in America, but the nations of Europe would have been less responsible than they now are for the permission of much crime.’ pp. 21—25.

Art. X. *Rouge et Noir*. In six Cantos. Versailles and other Poems. 12mo. pp. 216. Price 7s. London. 1821.

THE poem which gives its title to this volume, is in what it has become usual to call the *Whistlecraft* style; a style imitated from the serio-comic romance-writers of Italy, and bearing all the marks of its exotic character. Mr. Frere and Lord Byron, themselves more foreigners than Englishmen, have misemployed their splendid talents in the attempt to naturalize it in our language. They have succeeded in making it fashionable for the present, but it will share the fate of other imported fashions which have not nature and good sense as their basis. John Bull is naturally grave: he can indulge now and then in a broad—perhaps an obstreperous laugh, but his features soon resume their serious air; and nothing is naturally more abhorrent to him than the eternal simper or the sardonic grin which is to be seen on the countenances of some of his neighbours. Mr. Bull has the reputation of loving a good joke, and of not being over-scrupulous on the score of delicacy in his amusements; the broader the farce the better—Falstaff, Hudibras, and the heroes of Smollet to wit. But then, he has not been accustomed to laugh at every thing. He has kind-hearted tears to shed for human suffering, and does not understand how broken vows, and broken hearts, and profligate principles, and eternal misery can be made a subject for drollery. The Parisian *sang-froid*—he cannot well pronounce the word, and thanks God he has no synonyme for it in his native tongue. He does not like, and we trust never will like, to have his best feelings, his most ennobling sentiments, his religious hopes made the fuel of flippant or malignant ridicule. And till he does, he will never relish the polished *diabolism* of Don Juan.

There is a combination of humour and pathos which is thoroughly English; or, when we think of Goldsmith, who has so perfectly exemplified it, we ought rather to say thoroughly Irish. The humour of Burns, however, is not less chaste and natural. Cowper is playful rather than comic. Pope's is the perfection of wit. Swift has coarse but genuine humour. But in Fielding, Smollet, and Sterne, we have the most characteristic displays of true English humour, mixed up, however, with less innocent ingredients. The cold-blooded facetiousness of the Author of Don Juan is in perfect contrast with all these various styles, and though less coarse and broad, is, in fact, far more licentious than that of the most exceptionable of our comic writers. Colman and Peter Pindar are more profane in their language, but not in their spirit. Smollet and Swift have gone immeasurably greater lengths in nastiness; but the tendency of Lord Byron's anonymous poetry is to inflict a still more deep and

deadly taint on the imagination. Their descriptions only quicken the pulse and pollute the memory; his are adapted to harden the heart.

In our review of *Mazeppa*,* we adverted to the first portion of the poem to which we now allude. A third and fourth part have since appeared, of which, for similar reasons, we shall decline to take any further notice, considering it as very questionable policy to expatiate, even in terms of condemnation, on that which allures by its genius, as much as it offends by its impiety. It is next to impossible to read the worst productions of Lord Byron without admiration of his talents; and the admiration so extorted from us, is an unwholesome feeling. Admiration is a complacent sentiment, and such a sentiment indulged in such a reference, is a concession to vice.

The present Writer would, probably, not court a comparison with Lord Byron, on the score of poetical talent, and he may justly claim not to share in his condemnation. "*Rouge et Noir*" is one of the most unexceptionable poems of the style we have seen, and it contains some very spirited passages. Humour is not the Author's forte, nor is his wit always of the best kind; but he can be both playful and pathetic. The subject, indeed, is full of horrid interest—the Gaming-table. We give the Author's own account of the poem.

'The following trifle was written in the midst of the dissipated scenes which it attempts rather to sketch than to describe: imagination has had nothing to do with it, for almost every circumstance alluded to was witnessed; and every scene introduced, copied and coloured from life. Should it prove fortunate enough to afford half an hour's amusement to such as are in no danger of infection from the spirit of play which constitutes the epidemic of a Parisian atmosphere; or act as a preventive against the disease, in one case out of a hundred, with such as are in the way of contagion, it will be more than is expected, and all that is desired by the Author.'

In Paris, the *Rouge et Noir* tables are stated to rifle the public to the amount of 12,000,000 francs per annum, of which two thirds are 'paid to the government for its recognition!' This is worse than Mr. Vansittart's Lottery schemes, or the ale-house and spirit system, which makes the drunkenness of the lower orders so important an article of our ways and means.

'If then,' adds the Author, 'the *Parisian Administration*, as the proprietors are designated, can pay a direct tax of 8,000,000 francs, independent of the expenses of their several establishments, and make fortunes beside—to what must the *unincumbered* profits of the *London Administration* amount? For it will be necessary to apprise but few, that *Rouge et Noir* has found its way to England; or that

* Eclectic Review, August, 1819.

Pall Mall is hardly surpassed by the *Palais Royal* itself in the number of its *Maisons de jeu*.'

The first two or three pages of the poem have an unpromising flatness, which is not at all relieved by the unmeaning vulgarism in the fourth line of the first stanza. Canto I. is an attempt to explain the game,—not a very successful one; and the reader is almost tempted to think the Poet speaks reason when he says:

'I wish I'd left this *measure* to such hands as
Frere, Byron, Barry Cornwall—faith I do!
'Twas certainly, when I began these stanzas,
My purpose to describe the Game; but, to
Speak truth, this "old *ottava rima*," grand as
It may be thought, is like a tight new shoe,
Which pinches me so sore at every motion,
That I shall not attempt it, I've a notion.'

Canto II. introduces us to the *Palais Royal*.

'It is a focus where each principle
Of thought and act concentrate to a spot;
Where gold is most omnipotent, and will
Buy love or lace—there's nothing can't be bought;
A world in miniature, where equal skill
Is taught in sin and science—*both* are taught!
With dancing, fencing, metaphysics, cheating,
And other things which don't abide repeating.

'It is the heart of Paris, and impels
Warm poison thro' her wanton arteries;
The honeycomb of vice, whose thousand cells
Pour forth the buzzing multitude one sees:
Loose trowser'd beaux, and looser-moral'd belles;
With ancient quizzes underneath the trees
Reading the daily journals, or conversing;
And, here and there, a black-eyed *Grisette* nursing.

'Here new-come English ladies flock to stare
At all the wonders with their sleepy faces:
I'm often lead to think, I do declare,
The ugliest come on purpose to disgrace us:
Their clothes toss'd on with pitchforks as it were;
And *marching* more like grenadiers than graces;
Whilst Paris dames, who don't approve their fashion,
Survey them with satirical compassion.

'But, now and then, a form goes gliding by
Such as might hover round a poet's dream;
The cheek of rose, the large, the laughing eye,
As blue as heaven—heaven in its beam!
Lips that were made to smile, and make us sigh—
And limbs—but *these* might lead me from my theme;
In short, near such the French look sometimes sooty,
And Britain is again my land of beauty.

' And, though our countrymen dress well in general,
 Some naturally lead us to suppose
 (With faces that might compliment a funeral)
 They come to Paris to wear out old clothes:
 The natives might be led to think our men are all
 As shabby as themselves, to judge by those.
 Some sport outrageous fashions out of date—
 "Lax in their gaiters, laxer in their gait."
 ' But *Stultz* sometimes exports a dandy over—
 Or, in more modern phrase, an *exquisite*;
 (Being delicate they always cross by Dover)
 To shew us exiles how a coat should fit.
 Now don't mistake, or think I mean to cover
 This *cast* with ridicule—O far from it!
 I'm told they're lady-like and harmless creatures,
 With something of hermaphroditish features.'

From the description of *Frescati* in Canto III., we borrow the following stanzas to complete the groupe.

' And here I've marked a sort of non-descript—
 Half clown, half dandy:—but the Cheapside hop
 Betray'd the cruel secret, tho' equipped
Tout à la mode Française from toe to top;
 A metamorphosed cockney, who had slipped
 His girths; but having from the shipwrecked shop
 Saved something, strikes his creditors with wonder,
 By turning *petit maître* and *French funder*.

' And some make magic fortunes, playing thus
 At blindman's buff with hazard in the stocks;
 And, if they do, they keep a pretty fuss—
 Take consequential airs, an Opera box,
 With other things too tedious to discuss;
 The pity is, inveterate nature baulks
 Their aim; because it follows not that when
 Men grow in wealth they must grow gentlemen.
 ' Oh no! for tho' like Esop's frog they swell
 To emulate our bulls of high degree,
 Ay sometimes till they burst, they might as well
 Attempt to quench the sun, or drain the sea:
 The thing's impossible; for let me tell
 Them plainly, the distinction seems to be
 As wide between our "exquisites" and these
 As 'tween a *lack* of guineas and *rupees*.

' The camp may have it's fame, the court it's glare,
 The theatre it's wit, the board it's mirth:
 But there's a calm, a quiet haven, where
Bliss flies for shelter—the domestic hearth!
 If this be comfortless, if this be drear,

It needs not hope to find a haunt on earth:
Elsewhere we may be careless, gay, caressed—
But here, and only here, we can be *blest*!

' O, senseless, soulless, worse than both were he
Who, slighting all the heart should hoard with pride,
Could waste his nights in losel revelry,
And leave his bosom's partner to abide
The anguish women feel, who love, and see
Themselves deserted, and their hopes destroyed:—
Some doating one, perhaps, who hides her tears,
And struggles at a smile when he appears!

' Enough! Frescati is my subject now;
And many pass their night beneath its dome,
Who leave none *such* to sorrow o'er the vow
That binds them to a libertine; but roam
Because, (and 'tis some cause, we must allow,)
Altho' they have a *house*, they've not a *home*;
Exchanging frowns and yawns—connubial blisses!
For music, feasting, dancing, smiles, and kisses.

' So, what with gaming, taking ice, and billing,
Discussions on the *charter* or a feather,
Lounging on sofas, waltzing or quadrilling,
With casual observations on the weather—
"The winter here I think is vastly chilling"—
Poles, Turks, and Persians—all the world together,—
They keep it gayly up, the pillow scorning,
At least till six or seven in the morning.'

Canto IV., 'the Salon,' describes the gambling table. We
turn back to the first Canto for a striking picture.

' Nay, desperate Want itself comes here to game,
Altho' the turning of a card may be
As death: look on him! woman's grief were tame
Beside that speechless stare of agony.
The vilest passions which the heart inflame
Run riot in their brute ferocity;
And joy and anguish wear the ruffian die,
With all to wound the ear, and shock the eye.

' And oft, a looker on the scene alone,
(For, tho' you smile in doubt, 'tis not less true,)
My heart hath quailed to hear that horrid tone,
Half sigh, half sob—the deep breath'd "*Sacré Dieu!*"
Burst from a luckless wretch with eye of stone,
Convulsive cheek, and lips of death's own hue;
Throbbled as he broke away, to madness wrought,
Perhaps—but fancy shudders at the thought!

' Yet, whoso visited *the Morgue* next morn,
Had found, it might be, from the Seine's dull tide
Already dragged, a sight that well might warn—
Stretched on his back, the ghastly suicide!

His eye unclosed ; his garments, stained and torn,
Hung from the drear and dripping wall, to guide
Some idle glance ; perhaps, to fix upon
The cold stark features of a sire or son !

The following portraits are, we doubt not, from the life.

— ' I've met originals, however :—

Among the rest a man of parchment lip,
And eye so frozen that it made one shiver :
But, if a cold sardonic smile should slip
Athwart his features with convulsive quiver,
'Twas strangled, like a goblin, at its birth,
And seem'd the very antipode to mirth.

' Nor moved those vampire features, save, perchance,
When some estated prodigal unrolled
The sheaf of *billets* which he eyed askance,
Or rashly piled the stake of minted gold ;
But then his sunk sepulchral eye would dance
Delighted, just as if it soothed the old
Transgressor's spleen, beholding such an one
Undo himself, as he had been undone.

' Such is the blighted slave whose life hath passed,
Heartless and hardened, in this atmosphere :
A being by his demon-passion cast,
Like Cain, from social haunts and all that's dear ;
Without one human feeling to the last,
Beyond that avarice which drags him here ;
Till, like a bar consumed by inward rust,
The heart, before the frame, is turn'd to dust.

' To such a close the gamester's progress leads—
Rank, feeling, wealth, and reputation gone ;
And Fortune seldom favours him who needs—
O no ! the rich, the fool, the knave hath won ;
But he whose heart at every venture bleeds,
Who plays for life and death, departs—undone !
As if some scoffing devil mounted guard,
Lest chance itself should turn one winning card.

' Behold yon stripling—howsoe'er he stakes,
Dame Fortune veers obsequious to his whim ;
Nay, older sinners take the side he takes,
And absolutely win by following him :
Note the triumphant smile with which he shakes
The rattling *ivory* ! whilst his eye-balls swim
Like one in love or liquor, wild and warm,
And quite resolved to take the fates by storm !

' Now mark his mid-aged neighbour—foiled and crossed—
Some unexpected turn is sure to mar
Each hope of winning when it flatters most,
As if mischance had smote him with her star !

Born to estates a title's flaw hath lost—
Forced from his own good hall to wander far—
A trembling hand the latest stake hath spread,
And morn may hear his infants cry for bread.'

The last line of this Canto, which closes a suitable apostrophe to the 'accursed game' with a fool's laugh, is an instance of the wretched taste into which a writer is in imminent danger of being betrayed by aiming at the serio-comic.

Cantos V. and VI. are entitled *The Sharper*, and *The Guillotine*. They contain some very graphical sketches, and some very serviceable hints to those who are designing a trip to Paris.

'—'tis a wild-goose chase
For those who contemplate economising,
To post towards Paris—quite as well repair
To Fetter-lane in search of country air.
' Avoid it! if for nothing but to shun
This all-involving snake, this *Rouge et Noir*,
Which, fell as those that folded Laocoon,
Strangles the firmest resolution; for
I can't just now recall a single one
Who had the means to play, and did not; nor
Five who escaped its gripe before they knew
The odds 'tween *sans souci* and *sans six sous*.'

On the whole, we shall be well pleased with some more sketches from the same hand, provided he will laugh only in the right place, and weed his wit of vulgarisms.

The Miscellaneous Poems are all of them elegant, and bear marks of an accomplished mind. Some of them might have slumbered in the portfolio, without rendering the volume less valuable; but these, probably, recommended themselves to the Author by the recollections connected with them. There are abundant indications of taste and feeling in his poetry, and in such cases we are not fastidious critics. We shall make room for the poem that has most pleased us.

' To an Infant.

' When cherub smiles give place
To full and flowing tears,
My Infant! in thy face
I see the chart of years:
Each smile a joy bestowing,
Each tear a grief foreshewing.

' But, young one! it appears,
They differ in amount;
One minute tells more tears
Than a day of smiles can count.
How many clouds we gaze on
For one the Iris plays on!

' By day the sunbeam glows,
But soon its rays must set;
Thro' morn and midnight flows
The sobbing rivulet.
Thus joy a while keeps glowing,
But grief for ever flowing.

' My cup of hope is quaff'd,
Yet this I'll hope for thee—
Be thou the green young graft
Upon the leafless tree;
And hopes 'twere vain to nourish,
Be found in thee to flourish.

' Thy years a halcyon train
Of blessings smiling round;
That bliss I sought in vain
To find—by thee be found:
May love and friendship bless thee,
Nor woe nor want oppress thee.'

' Tho' others' emblem be
The deadly cypress shade,
Be thine the citron tree
That knows not how to fade;
But through each change of weather,
Bears fruit and flowers together.

' Thy childhood be as gay
As spring-tide just begun;
Thy youth a bright May day,
And ardent as its sun;
Thy prime, midsummer—sweeping
O'er harvests ripe and reaping.

' Nor let thy sun's decline
One noble thought assuage;
But rather, like old wine,
Grow generous with age.
Thro' life thy soul be chainless,
In death thy name be stainless.

' And when he who writes this verse,
Shall smile not nor repine,
Be thou beside his hearse—
He could not look on thine!
And, when thy shroud is o'er thee,
May a son of thine deplore thee.'

Art. XI. *A Medical Guide to the Cheltenham Waters*, containing Observations on their Nature and Properties; the Diseases in which they are beneficial or hurtful; with the Rules to be observed during their Use. By William Gibney, M.D. Graduate of the University of Edinburgh; Member of the Royal Medical Society; one of the Physicians to the Cheltenham Dispensary, &c. 12mo. pp. 162. Price 4s. 6d. London, 1821.

PUBLICATIONS of this nature have been so often made the vehicles of disgusting egotism and sheer quackery, that it is with no small degree of pleasure we are able to present to our readers so unassuming, impartial, and respectable a work as that before us. The Author has not attempted to shew us that the Cheltenham waters will do *every thing*, but he shews that, under suitable management, they will do *much*; and points out, with considerable perspicuity and conciseness, those maladies, and the peculiar stages of such maladies, as are likely to be benefited by their administration. And, with not less candour, the Author states explicitly, the principal forms of disease in which the waters would be either useless or positively injurious. We are disposed to recommend this little work not only to our general readers, but to Dr. Gibney's brethren in the profession, as furnishing an accurate view of the cases which might be advantageously removed to Cheltenham; to which place, we are persuaded, many patients are sent without any such distinct ideas of the properties of the waters, or any such definite directions for their use, as every practitioner ought to possess, and every patient to receive.

Dr. Gibney is fully aware that the change of scene and of habits which accompanies a residence at Cheltenham, has a very important share in producing its salutary effects; and yet, perhaps, the Doctor may be unconsciously inclined to expect more from the waters themselves than persons at a distance, and without his natural predilections, would be apt to anticipate. But the character of integrity is so prominently stamped on the present work, that even should the merits of the Cheltenham waters have been extolled to the very extent, or even somewhat beyond their *ne plus ultra*, we feel persuaded that the statement is founded on decided conviction.

In treating of the *cutaneous affections* which indicate, or contra-indicate, the use of the waters, the Author employs the vague term *herpetic* with less precision than we could wish. The genus *herpes* having been distinctly included in the order of *Vesicles*, by the incomparable Willan and his indefatigable coadjutor, it is particularly desirable to avoid, even in popular language, any expressions which may serve to perpetuate an indistinct nomenclature of Disease. We would, indeed, suggest to the Author, in the event of a second edition, the propriety of

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defining rather more exactly the characters of some other simultaneous complaints to which he alludes. The exchange, also, of such words as œdema, idiopathic, strumous, synovial, &c. for simple English terms, or the addition of short notes by way of explanation, would render the work still more intelligible to general readers. It is but justice, however, to add, that Dr. Gibney has usually expressed himself with great simplicity, and has evidently endeavoured to avoid the technicalities of the science.

Art. XII. *The Design of the Death of Christ Explained; and its Influence in constraining Christians to "live to him who died for them," enforced: in a Sermon.* By William Ward, Serampore. 8vo. Price 1s. 6d. London. 1820.

WE must not pass over this very striking Sermon. Having, however, noticed so much at large the Author's Farewell Letters, to which this Discourse would form an admirable appendix, we shall content ourselves with stating that, by its unaffected eloquence, not less than by its momentous topic, it recommends itself most powerfully to the classes to which it is especially addressed; 'to parents and heads of families, to Sunday-school teachers, and to the pastors and members of Christian Societies formed on the independent plan, throughout Great Britain.' The concluding passage would amply justify language of still higher encomium. We most earnestly recommend it to the perusal of our readers.

'We need not enter into the proofs, that a life founded on principles so mean and selfish must end in disappointment. The fact is, no man will have been found too cunning for God: "whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he reap." Men, all men, will be for ever and ever what they were through life. Not a grain of the seed sown in time, but what will bear in time and through eternity its own fruit. The tree which thou now plantest, O immortal, of its fruit shalt thou partake for ever. Nothing which now obtains a seat in thy heart, or becomes an overt act, can be indifferent, since it must and will live for ever. By the merits of Christ believers will attain to life eternal, but the history of that life eternal will bear the motto, "Whatsoever a man soweth—that—that shall he reap." "One star differeth from another star in glory, so also is the resurrection of the dead." And thus a life of selfishness invariably ends in disappointment in some shape or other. There is an inseparable, an eternal connection between actions and their fruit, and no wit or cunning of men can dissolve it. "He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully." "He that soweth to the flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption, but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting."

'But, he who has lived to himself, shall "arise to shame and

everlasting contempt." "I set before thee a heavenly life, a glorious career of Christian benevolence; and my grace should have been perfected in thy weakness. But thou preferredst a partial view of thy own interests, and thou livedst to thyself. Absorbed in secular engagements, thou raisedst a noble mansion; thou elevatedst thy family to the highest dignities, and the name of thy house has survived the ravages of centuries. But see—the world is on fire! Behold! a new earth and a new heaven! What share hast thou in this new creation? Is there one soul on those thrones which thou hast instrumentally raised thither? Is there one scene to the beauties of which thou hast contributed? None. All thy labours—all thy projects, have perished in the great conflagration, and thou art left alone, since all earthly connections are dissolved, for ever to reflect on the inexpressible folly and turpitude of a life which has been consumed on a base and fruitless effort to make self the object of adoration and service, while the Deity and all the creatures have been made to "serve with thy sins." Go, infatuated wretch, eternity is before thee: a god for a moment, a miserable reptile for ever. Hadst thou lived to me, I had made thee a "son and an heir of God." Thou hast lived to thyself: thyself in ruins shall be to thee the only object of contemplation amidst the solitudes and unavailing anguish of eternity!" pp. 33—34.

ART. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

In the press, a Second Volume of Sketches of Sermons, preached to congregations in various parts of the united kingdom, and on the European Continent, furnished by their respective authors. Also, a new edition of Vol. I.

Mr. David Booth is preparing for publication, "A Letter to the Rev. T. R. Malthus, M.A. F.R.S., relative to the Reply (inserted in the 70th Number of the Edinburgh Review) to Mr. Godwin's Inquiry concerning Population;" in which the erroneousess of the Theories of Mr. Malthus will be more fully illustrated.

An edition of Matthiae's Greek Grammar, abridged for the use of schools, translated from the German, will be ready after the Christmas vacation.

The Rev. Mark Wilks is preparing an English edition of the Old Cevennol, by Rabaut St. Etienne.

The Rev. H. F. Burder has in the press, Mental Discipline, or Hints on the Cultivation of Intellectual Habits, addressed particularly to students in theology, and young preachers.

A Treatise on the Gospel Constitution,

the last work of the late Rev. Wm. Bennet, with a short account of his life and writings, will soon be published.

Dr. Geo. Darling has in the press, a Treatise on Diseases of the Liver, and on some of the affections usually denominated bilious.

Memoirs of the Celebrated Persons composing the Kit Cat Club, with an account of the origin of the association, will soon appear in a large quarto volume, illustrated by forty-eight portraits from the original paintings by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

A new edition of the complete works of Demosthenes, with the various readings, under the direction of Professor Schaefer, is in the press, and will appear early in the next year, in six volumes, 8vo.

Mr. Pullen has been engaged for some time in arranging Pestalozzi's System of Mental Arithmetic, and expects to publish it in the course of next month.

The Solutions to the Cambridge Prize Problems, by Mr. Wright of Trinity College, is in a state of great forwardness, and will be published in the course

of October term. Mr. Wright is also engaged upon an edition of the complete works of Sir Isaac Newton, which will be published in parts; the Principia will appear first with a selection of the best notes.

The History of Tuscany by Pignotti, interspersed with occasional Essays on the Progress of Italian Literature, has been translated by Mr. Browning, and will be printed in the course of the winter.

Mr. Buchanan, His Majesty's Consul at New York, has made considerable collections during his successive journeys through Upper Canada, respecting the History of the North American Indians, which with many other interesting materials and official documents will be shortly presented to the public.

Mr. Landseer is preparing for publi-

cation, Sabea Researches, with plates of sculptured signets; &c. It is expected to appear in the month of February.

Mr. Joliffe has prepared for the press, many additional Letters written during his Tour in Palestine and the Holy Land, which will shortly appear in a new edition of his Letters, in 2 vols. 8vo.

In the press, and shortly will be published, with notes, A Key to the Parsing Exercises contained in Lindley Murray's English Grammar, in which all the examples will be parsed at full length, and in the syntactical examples, the rules will be quoted. Intended for the use of all young persons who are studying the English language, but particularly for such as make use of the deservedly popular work of Mr. Murray. By J. Harvey.

ART. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

ANTIQUITIES.

Antiquities of Ionia. Published by the Society of Dilettanti. 2 vols. royal folio. 12l. 12s. boards.

* * * The first volume is a second edition, with considerable additions; and either volume may be had separate.

The History and Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Oxford; illustrated by engravings; with biographical anecdotes of the bishops, &c. By John Britton, F.S.A. Med. 4to. 1l. 4s. Imp. 4to. 2l. 2s. Sep. roy. folio, 4l. 4s.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Rev. Joseph Howell. By the Rev. Hugh Howell, Rector of Ballaugh, Isle of Man. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

Memoirs of Miss Mary Ann Burton, late of Kentish Town. 12mo. 6s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Works of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke, Vol. VII. Containing his Speeches in Westminster Hall on the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings. With an Introduction addressed to Lord Viscount Milton. By the Bishop of Rochester. 4to. 2l. 2s.

Incidents of Childhood. With frontispiece. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

Ralph Richards, the Miser. By Jefferys Taylor. 10mo. With a frontispiece. 2s. 6d. half-bound.

Essays on the Formation and Publi-

cation of Opinions; and on other subjects. 8vo. 8s. boards.

An Account of a New Process in Painting. In two Parts. Part I. Remarks on its general correspondence with the peculiarities of the Venetian school. Part II. Supplementary details, explanatory of the process: with miscellaneous observations on the arts of the sixteenth century. 8vo. 8s.

THEOLOGY.

Thomas Johnson's Reasons for Deserting from the Church of England. 18mo. 3d.

A Sermon preached, at the Coronation of King George the Fourth, in the Abbey Church of Westminster, July 19th, 1801. By Edward, Lord Archbishop of York. 4to. 2s.

Clavis Apostolica: or a Key to the Apostolic Writings; being an attempt to explain the scheme of the Gospel, and the principal words and phrases used by the Apostles in describing it. By the Rev. Joseph Mendham, A.M. Of Sutton Coldfield. 12mo. 3s. 6d.

TOPOGRAPHY.

A History of Brazil: comprising its Geography, Commerce, Colonization, &c. &c. By James Henderson, recently from South America. With 27 plates and 2 maps. 4to. 3l. 13s. 6d.